

Media and collective fear: has mass media contributed to create an atmosphere of collective fear addressing Islamic terrorism?

By

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of the MA in Journalism & Public Relations, is my own; based on my personal study and/or research, and that I have acknowledged all material and sources used in its preparation. I also certify that I have not copied in part or whole or otherwise plagiarised the work of anyone else, including other students.

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Abstract

Mass media has played a central role in the construction of the Islamist terrorist stereotype into the audience imaginary. The lack of representation of Islamic communities in the press, and a partial and bias coverage about terrorist attacks not only increase intolerance and xenophobia but also is collaborated to build a perception of an unsafe society.

The aim of this research is finding if the mass media has collaborated to the increasingly popular perception of Islamic Terrorism as a global threat, by stereotyping the Muslim community out and in the West.

Principal finds shown that since the coverage of the 11th September 2001 terrorist attacks until the end of 2015, the association of the word 'Islamic' with the word 'terrorist' has increased in the media channels. One of the reasons for this rise is the polarised narrative presented by the newspapers which mainly reproduced Western discourse

Findings also displayed an unbalance in the portrayal of victims of terrorism. This portrayal tended to humanise the Western victims and dehumanise the Eastern ones, what might impact in the choice of the audience to support one side and ignore the other one.

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Chapter I - Introduction

1. Overview

According to Zygmund Bauman (2008) *"fear is the name we give to our uncertainty: our ignorance of the threat of what must be done"*. As a natural defence and survival mechanism, it has influenced behaviours in our individual and collective manifestations of our social conception.

In the article 'A Brief History of Anxiety & Fear', the psychologist Garrett Ray Harriman (2015) explains that fear has long theoretical histories. "Today, medical and psychological science agree that fear is an emotional state accompanied by very specific bodily sensations. But fear has fascinated many minds throughout history, and many explanations were given to rationalise fear's origin and purpose".

The first definitions of this 'state of emotional' date back to Ancient Greece. For Aristotle, fear was the opposite of confidence. The philosopher believed men and women were the ones who overcame fear's effects. The cure for fear was to act in virtuous ways, including being courageous. Epicurus, another great fear thinker of his time, has a different opinion than Aristotle's. To him, it was best to avoid and predict fear, instead of overcoming it through virtuous actions.

Today, the role of mass media in the construction of fear is arguably more significant than it was years ago. According to Stefanie Grupp (2002), in her paper about the 'Political implications of a discourse of fear', individual fears are cultivated through the media and are less and less the outcome of the direct experience. 'Fear is decreasingly experienced first-hand and increasingly experienced on a discursive and abstract level', concludes Grupp. She also suggestively notes that 'there has been a general shift from a fearsome life towards a life with fearsome media'.

Frank Furedi (2007) reports in his study 'How human thought and action are being stifled by a regime of uncertainty' that low-grade fears and risks seem to be flourishing and capturing people's imaginations. The real significance of this development, however, is a

move towards a more individuated form of fear, which is the highly personalised, even customised way in which fear is experienced now.

Bauman (2008) has also argued how postmodernity has privatised the fears of modernity. 'With fears privatised...there is no hope left that human reason, and its earthly agents will make the race a guided tour, certain to end up in a secure and agreeable shelter'. The author, in his book 'Liquid Fear' quotes John Keane to reflect on another aspect of the privatisation of fear – namely, today's growing tendency to transform private fears into public ones.

Nowadays, it is impossible to discuss collective fear in the Western society without pointing out one of the 'biggest threats of the 21st Century': the Islamic terrorism.

According to a study conducted by Gallup Global (2017) in 14 European` s nations, 66% of residents say acts of terrorism by non-residents are a serious problem in their country, and 64% say the same about resident-perpetrated terrorist acts. These figures are the result of approximately 1,530 interviews with adults, aged 15 and older, during 2016.

For the institute, the peril of terrorism may be linked - at least in the public's mind - to public support for anti-immigration policies, what, as a consequence, may have fuelled the rise of reactionary nationalist parties across Europe in recent years, posing a threat to European integration and, in many cases, leading to heightened anti-Muslim sentiment.

In the United States of America, the perception of the fear of terrorism follows the European impressions. Gallup (2015) has also published the results of a survey that names terrorism the main issue currently facing the U.S.A.

Despite of some historical facts to point out religion as motivator of terrorism, such as the classical case of Guy Fawkes and Robert Catesby in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, when their Catholic group failed an assassination attempt against King James I to re-establish the Catholicism in the United Kingdom, and - more recently – the IRA in Nothern Ireland, in my concern, never before in history time the word terrorism was associated to a religion as at present.

Since the attack on the World Trade Centre in 2001, this co-relation between terrorism and religion became even more narrow as explains Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen (2009)

in their book 'The Evolution of International Security', *"the events of September 11 and their respective responses certainly elevated the existing literature on terrorism to a higher level and also induced interest in religion, which was already unfolding (Philpott, 2002, Thomas, 2005) "*. (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 342).

The events of September 11 were the mark in time that established our current conception of terrorism: as something deadly and irrational, that comes from a primitive society, the Islamic society.

The construction of the 'Islamic terrorist' stereotype seen today is not something new, as observed by Edward Said in his books 'Orientalism' (1995) and 'Covering Islam' (1997). However, it has increased dramatically contributing, according to him, to this unwarranted and dehumanised image of the people from the Middle East.

1.2 Research Investigation

The aim of this research is finding if the mass media has collaborated to the increasingly popular perception of Islamic Terrorism as a global threat, by stereotyping the Muslim community out and in the West. And, as a result, indirectly influencing the growth of xenophobia against Islamists.

To achieve the prime objective, the study analysed the coverage of two mass media vehicles, one in Brazil and one in Ireland. The choice of these countries was based on their low risk to be the target of a terrorist attack, due to their geographical position, their international participation in war/military events (the Middle East invasions for U.S.A. and allies), and – mainly, because of their foreign security policies (both countries have their systems based on negotiation and inclusion). Even though Ireland has been targeted as one of the countries where might terrorist groups have connections, the probability of an attack still low because of the reasons presented above.

In Brazil, the research investigated the broadsheet 'Folha de Sao Paulo', a centre-left wing newspaper which has the most significant circulation in the country with an average of 320.741 copies per day. In Ireland, the broadsheet analysed was 'The Irish Times', which has a combined average daily sales of 77,657 copies for its print and ePaper editions.

Both newspapers perform a similar role in Brazilian and Irish societies, respectively. Both have the same format, follow a similar editorial line and are considered reputable and responsible with their audiences.

A fundamental point to reach the aim of this research is the length. In order to observe the differences in the coverage of terrorism in both broadsheet papers, the study is based on two major periods:

- from 11th September 2001 to 30th September 2001 – to investigate the initial coverage of the attacks on the World Trade Centre, in New York, on 11th September 2001;
- from 01st January 2015 to 31st December 2015 – the year was marked by the beginning of the international operations of the insurgent group Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), also known as Islamic State (IS) in Europe. The period is also distinguishable because of two considerable incidents in France: the Charlie Hebdo shooting on 7th January and the Paris attacks on 13th November. Both are events that have generated a commotion in Western society that is similar to the events of September 11.

The research evaluated articles published in the print and online versions in all sections of the newspapers, in order to have a comprehensive perception of the content reported in the vehicles and the different points of view which were presented in each edition of the papers analysed.

1.3 Research Question and Objectives

The research question of the investigation is:

Media and collective fear: has mass media contributed to creating an atmosphere of collective fear addressing Islamic terrorism?

In order to answer the research question, three objectives were identified:

1. To identify words and/or expressions in mass media coverage which address Islamic terrorism as a global threat and contributed to building the atmosphere of an unsafe society;

2. To investigate if the mass media are providing balanced information and promoting a plural and unbiased debate;
3. To understand if the coverage style of the two publications has changed from the first event (11th September attacks) to the latest (Paris attacks).

Chapter II – Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Several reports have shown that one of the reasons behind the stereotypical ways in which Islamic communities are portrayed by the media is a consequence of the lack of knowledge of journalists and even academics. Many authors, mainly Said, discourse about the small interest by the intellectuals to understand Islam.

According to Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen (2009) in their book 'The Evolution of International Security Studies', the attack at the World Trade Center was a way of instigating academic work about the Islamic world.

"The events of September 11 and their respective responses certainly elevated the existing literature on terrorism to a higher level and also induced interest in religion, which was already unfolding (Philpott, 2002, Thomas, 2005). This change has challenged both the broader, seemingly shifting the core of security back to political violence, when traditionalists, to shift the focus from interstate warfare to relations between states and non-state actors" (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 342).

However, the scarcity of material about the impact of the media in the construction of the Islam stereotype in Western culture still a problem.

This research, which relates to the collective fear, Islamic terrorism and the influence of the media in building stereotypes, analyses the literature of each of those topics, which are separated in sub-chapters to facilitate the investigation process.

2.2 Dissemination of the culture of fear

Defining fear is not an easy task. According to the Oxford dictionary, fear is an unpleasant emotion caused by the threat of danger, pain, or harm; it is a feeling of anxiety concerning the outcome of something or the safety of someone; the likelihood of

something unwelcome happening; and in an ancient definition, a mixed feeling of dread and reverence.

For Frank Furedi (2007), professor of sociology at the University of Kent, United Kingdom, fear is determined by the situation people find themselves in, but it is also, to some extent, the product of social construction.

“Fear is determined by the self and the interaction of the self with others. It is also shaped by a cultural script that instructs people on how to respond to threats to their security. Thus, getting to grips with fear in contemporary society will require an assessment of the influence of culture. Instead of treating fear as a self-evident emotion and a taken-for-granted concept, we should explore the meaning attached to fear and the rules and customs that govern the way in which fear is experienced and expressed” (Furedi, 2007: 02).

Rachel Pain - from the Department of Geography at the University of Durham, UK, - tends to agree with Furedi, in her study “Globalised fear? Towards emotional geopolitics”, where she affirms: “fear is back in fashion” (e.g., Schneier, 2003; Robin, 2004; Bourke, 2005; Furedi, 2005; 2006; Bauman, 2006). (Pain, 2009: 466). The academic refers to the vast number of books and studies available on the topic.

For Pain, the sudden interest in the subject is related to a ‘globalised fear’, to terrorist attacks in the west this century and the war on/of terror which “have figured highly in the public imagination and on policy agendas” (Pain, 2009: 467).

“By ‘globalised fear’ I mean the powerful metanarrative that is currently popular in analyses of the relation of fear, terror and security. There are two ways in which these metanarratives of fear can be considered ‘global’. The first is the idea, more often implicit than worked through, that emotions are being produced and circulate on a global scale; this has become prominent within the much recent political analysis of security and terror, including work in human geography. The second way in which these explanations and processes are ‘global’ ones is that they tend to be prioritised and discussed as though they apply to everyone, all of the time” (Pain, 2009: 468).

In her findings, she identifies fear as discursive, political and cultural tool used by powerful groups within nation states to meet certain ends, which are achieved by “gaining further ground and becoming more prominent than empirical descriptions of the patterning of fear (Garland, 1996; Lee, 2007 cited in Pain, 2009:468)”.

“This pattern of fear, according to her, is introduced to a dominant power - such as government and media - in the public sphere, what makes the ‘culture of fear’ argument actually underplays ‘the fact that people not only conduct their lives with affects and emotions but also in the absence of capacities for evaluating full and transparent information” (Isin, 2004: 220, cited in Pain, 2009 468).

To analyse the contribution of mass media in the creation of the collective fear, it is fundamental to understand the concept of the public sphere and its importance to sustaining a democratic society.

Jürgen Habermas defined the public sphere as a virtual or imaginary community, which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space. In its ideal form, the public sphere is "made up of private people gathered together as public and articulating the needs of society with the state" (Habermas, 1989: 176).

A public sphere began to emerge in the 18th C. through the growth of Capitalism, and consequently, of the bourgeoisie. Key places such as coffee houses, literary societies and other types of societies, voluntary associations, and the growth of the press became important factors for the public sphere to be established. However, in their efforts to discipline the state, parliament and other agencies of representative government sought to manage this public sphere.

For Habermas, the success of the public sphere was founded on a rational-critical discourse in which everyone is an equal participant, and the supreme communication skill is the power of argument.

Nicholas Garnham, in ‘The Media and The Public Sphere’, pointed out that the equality of participation highlighted by Habermas “was destroyed historically” (Garmham, 1986: 41) because:

“...the direction of monopoly capitalism led to an uneven distribution of wealth, to rising entry costs to the Public Sphere and thus to unequal access to and control over that sphere. In particular, the rise of advertising and public relations has exemplified these trends since they represent the direct control by private or state interests of the flow of public information in the interest, not of rational discourse, but of manipulation” (Garnham, 1986: 41).

In the public sphere background, the mass media has a vital role in a democratic state, by ensuring that information is spread in an unbiased, impartial and equal way. For James Curran (1991), in ‘Mass Media and Democracy: A Reappraisal’, the public dialogue staged by the media system should be informed by the diversity of values and perspectives in entertainment as well as public affairs coverage.

“By generating a plurality of understandings, the media should enable the individuals to reinterpret their social experience, and question the assumptions and ideas of the dominant culture. It should also enable everyone, on the bases of diverse perspectives and sources, to decide for themselves how best to safeguard and advance their welfare in collective as well as individual terms, and set in the balance rival definitions of the public interests and claims based on equality” (Curran, 1991: 101-102).

Curran believes, “the media should be seen as a source of redress against the abuse of power over others” (Curran, 1991: 86). To him, the media has the main function of being a “public watchdog overseeing the state” (Curran, 1991: 84). However, we always have to remember that: “... institutions and processes of public communication are themselves a central part of the political structure and process...” (Garnham, 1986: 37).

The ownership of the media in the hands of big corporations and political organisations is a major problem for the protection of democratic communication values. What we can notice is a monopoly of information being generated by a few companies that run the information worldwide and mediate such information according to their interests. “The heavy capitalisation of the media industry has created, in effect, a zone of influence in which dominant economic forces have a privileged position, and to which other significant social forces are denied direct unmediated access. (Curran, 1991: 94).

In fact, the advent of a 'free-market', which in theory should bring plurality to communications, "thus compromises rather than guarantees the editorial integrity of commercial media, and impairs, in particular, its oversight of private corporate power" (Curran, 1986: 87).

Murdock and Golding (2005) in 'Culture, Communications and Political Economy', have a similar view of Curran about the impact of the 'commercialisation' of information.

"Media production has been increasingly commandeered by large corporations and molded to their interests and strategies... the reach of corporate rationales has been considerably extended in recent years by the sale of public assets to private investors (privatisation); the introduction of competition into markets that were previously commanded by public monopolies (liberalisation) and the continuing squeeze on publicly funded cultural institutions" (Murdock and Golding, 2005: 64).

The transformation caused by the 'privatisation of information' has been mischaracterising the duty of communication as a public service and turning it into a product, whose consumption is based on individual needs dictated by the marketing through advertising. It has also lessened the importance of public affairs coverage in mass media, primarily in broadcasting, and, according to Garnham, releasing a more effective entertainment media agenda to the audience.

"The result of this trend will be to shift the balance in the cultural sector between the marketing and public service decisively in favour of the marketing and to shift the dominant definition of public information from that of public good to that of a privately appropriable commodity" (Garnham, 1986: 39).

In my opinion, one of the authors who best synthesises the interrelation between media, power and fear is Zygmunt Bauman. The Polish philosopher has a range of publications dedicated to fear, integration and security, such as 'Community – Seeking safety in an insecure world' (2001) and 'Liquid Fear' (2008), the latter having to do mainly with the process of creation, implantation and dissemination of fear.

The book, which discusses fear in a "liquid" and "negatively globalised" society, investigates in depth the origins of most social fears and how they can be inserted into the collective. One chapter of the book in particular, which addresses "global terror", was a significant material for the understanding and elaboration of this project.

Bauman believes that "... most of the current dangers are unmanageable to public scrutiny and cannot be reliably confirmed or denied by the means available to people; they can be inserted or excluded into public beliefs. And in the battle of opinions, the most powerful are more likely to win" (Bauman, 2008: 129).

The war's narrative between "good against evil" created by George W. Bush immediately after 11th September events have also polarised the narrative defining a common enemy to entire West, creating a division between us, 'civilised world' against the 'other'.

"Indeed, the manicheistic view of the world, the call to arms in a holy war against satanic forces threatening to dominate the universe is a reduction of the Pandora's box of economic, political and social conflicts. The apocalyptic vision of a final confrontation of life and death between good and evil: these are not the exclusive patterns of Islamic ayatollahs. On our planet in the process of rapid globalisation, the "religionisation" of politics, social resentment, and battles for identity and recognition seems to be a global trend. "(Bauman, 2008: 148).

2.2.1 Fear of Terrorism

The research conducted by the Gallup institute in 2016 (published in 2017), and mentioned in chapter I, has shown that terrorism is considered by people nowadays to be one of the most serious problems in Europe. Impressive figures were collected in France (96%-96%), Belgium (92%-88%), Portugal (87%-89%), Denmark (76%-70%), and in other countries, as a result of the questions: Please tell me whether you think each of the following is a serious problem or not a serious problem in your country: acts of terrorism against this country by non-residents; acts of terrorism against this country by residents. Ireland (32%-38%) presented a lower percentage in comparison to the other countries, being classified in the penultimate ahead only of Iceland (15%-15%).

The survey also aggregated the percentage of each of these 14 countries with the percentage of citizens that considered the current immigration levels to be a serious problem. The results reinforced the collective idea of associating terrorism with the refugee crisis.

The full results of the research are seen in the table below:

Terrorism, Immigration Both Commonly Perceived as "Serious Problems" in Europe Please tell me whether you think each of the following is a serious problem or not a serious problem in your country.			
	Acts of terrorism against this country by non-residents	Acts of terrorism against this country by residents	Current immigration levels
	%	%	%
MEDIAN	66	64	55
France	96	96	67
Belgium	92	88	66
Portugal	87	89	55
Denmark	76	70	61
Netherlands	72	66	56
Luxembourg	73	67	36
Malta	68	63	86
Germany	66	70	56
Sweden	65	64	52
Switzerland	54	48	55
Cyprus	53	49	61
Finland	40	30	51
Ireland	32	38	32
Iceland	15	15	18
Percentage who say each item is a serious problem			
GALLUP			

Table 1 – Gallup 2017

For Bauman, “in a highly dramatic way, global terrorism has demonstrated the degree of insecurity we experience on a negatively globalised planet and the way the "moral gap" - responsible for deepening the contradictions between the remote nature of the effects caused by our actions and the short spectrum of the concerns that shape them - makes it difficult to conceive of any escape from the state of endemic uncertainty, insecurity and the fear it feeds” (Bauman, 2008, p 133).

The philosopher also criticised the policies against terrorism applied in Europe, which promote exclusion, prejudice and contribute to increasing the feelings of not being

represented in different groups in the same region. This criticism is related to France counterterrorism policy in the poor neighbourhoods of Paris.

“The beleaguered fortress in which multi-ethnic and multicultural cities are transforming themselves are dwellings shared by terrorists and their victims. Each side increases the fear, the passion, the fervour and the obstinacy of the other. Each of them confirms the other's worst fears and adds substance to their hatreds and prejudices” (Bauman, 2008: 160).

The author also shares with Chomsky and Said the idea of the power exercised by the media in the dissemination of concepts and ideologies: "The fact that such fears are not absolutely imaginary can be confirmed by the dominant authority of the media, which defends - visibly and tangibly - a reality that cannot be seen or touched without its help" (Bauman, 2008: 29).

2.3 The westernised view of Islam

In ‘Clash of Civilisations’, Samuel Huntington’s argues that “the shape of the world was shifting” and that conflicts would be defined by culture rather than by ideology or economic reasons. The nation-state would remain a significant actor, Huntington posited, but the major conflicts would occur between nations and groups of different cultures, and the “fault lines between civilisations will be the battle lines of the future” (Barker, 2013: 7).

For Huntington, conflicts of great proportions will not happen between social classes, but between individuals belonging to different cultures and religions. He suggests that cultural and religious identities as the main sources of conflicts in the post-Cold War world.

According to him, the constant religious, ideological, and political clashes and disputes between Western and Islamic civilisations occur because they are the only ones to have developmental goals and universalist ambitions. It demonstrates a Huntingtonian thought, which states that the clashes of civilisations are likely to last indefinitely.

This discussion, initiated by Huntington, received numerous criticisms from academia, claiming that the theorist was inducing confrontations for formulating a possible "prophecy," while others claimed he drew personal conclusions.

During the newspaper article's analysis for the development of this research, it was observed that the controversial argument presented by Huntington in 1993 was brought to the spotlight again during the 11th September attacks. Journalists, political scientists, philosophers and many others who tried to provide a quick, professional argument about the events quoted him to attend the demand for answers of the mass media. The main point of the discussion was mostly related to clashes between the Western and Islamic civilisations.

The scarcity of specialists in Islamic culture became evident. As a result, the Edward Said had signed most of the interviews and analysis articles during that period.

The lack of academic works and the lack of representation of Islamic culture in the media by that time is one of the reasons presented by most of the orientalist regarding the misleading ideas of Islam in the media.

Karim H. Karim, professor of journalism and Islamic studies at Carleton University, in the article 'Making sense of the "Islamic Peril" – Journalism as cultural practice', published in the book *Journalism after September 11*, highlighted that the mass media spread a misleading idea of Islamic foundations.

"There has emerged over the last three decades a set of journalistic narratives on "Muslim terrorism", whose construction is dependent on basic cultural perceptions about the global system of nation-states, violence, and the relationship between Western and Muslim societies. The dominant discourse about these issues helps shape the cognitive scripts for reporting the acts of terrorism carried out by people claiming to act in the name of Islam" (Karim, 2002: 101).

For Karin, the relation between Islamic culture and violence is rooted in the Western imaginary since earlier centuries.

“The legend of the “Assassins”, first popularised in Europe by the Crusaders and by Marco Polo, has become a standard tale in Northern media discourses about “Islamic terrorism”; its attraction to Western journalists seems to be that it dramatically reconfirms the well-established stereotypes about Muslims, namely those of violence, lust, and barbarism” (Karim, 2002: 110).

The construction of the ‘Islamic terrorist’ stereotype we can see today is not a new fact as Karim highlighted in his study. Edward Said in his books ‘Orientalism’ (1995) and ‘Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world’ (1997), presented - since 1980 decade - a background of the Western view of Islam and the caricatured way that Islamism has been treated for years in the United States and ‘Western world’. Said also raises the US academy's lack of interest in studies of Islamic culture, which - according to him - contributes to this unwarranted and dehumanised image of the people from the Middle East.

To demonise and dehumanise a whole culture on the grounds that it is “enraged” at modernity is to turn Muslims into the objects of therapeutic, punitive attention... The misrepresentations and distortions committed in the portrayal of Islam today argue neither a genuine desire to understand nor a willingness to listen and see what there is to see and listen too. Far from being naïve or pragmatic accounts of Islam, the images and processes by which the media has delivered Islam for consideration to the Western consumer of news perpetuate hostility and ignorance... (Said, 1997: 55).

The lack of ability of the press to understand Islam is a constant topic in his academic publications. For the orientalist, mass media has played a central role spreading this misleading idea about Islamism and terrorism, many times in partial and bias reports without any historical background of the issue, which reinforces the inaccurate connection between terror and religion. In addition, the media also brings frequent interpretations of Muslims tied to the image of "oil suppliers, terrorists and religious fanatics" (Said, 1997: p35).

He suggested those types of interpretations might be connected to political and economic interests, since, on many occasions, the creation of a common enemy and an insecure

society are profitable for the business. "This powerful concentration of mass media can be said to constitute a communal core of interpretation providing a certain picture of Islam and, of course, reflecting a powerful interest in the society served by the media" (Said, 1997: 25).

In 'Understanding Islam and Islamophobia Today', Nazeem Goolam – an academic at Rhodes University – also highlights the power of misleading definitions of terms of Islam such as Jihad (Goolam, 2015: 114).

Summarising his definition, Jihad doesn't mean a kind of 'holy war' which has the main goal of 'conquering' the 'free world' by introducing the Islam. Instead, it is a basic obligation Muslims have in their religion, an obligation that does not include going to war or forcing people to convert from one religion to another. However, the first thing coming to the mind of the most people when they hear the word Jihad is terrorism.

This thought increases the sensation that there are only two sides, the Western and the other, which needs to be fought and destroyed in order to re-establish peace and order.

"In other words, what we are dealing with here are in the very widest sense communities of interpretation, many of them at odds with one another, prepared in many instances literally to go to war with one another, all of them creating and revealing themselves and their interpretations as very central features of their existence. No one lives in direct contact either with truth or with reality. Each of us lives in a world actually made by human beings, in which such things as "the nation" or "Christianity" or "Islam" are the result of agreed-upon convention, of historical processes, and, above all, of willed human labour expended to give those things an identity we can recognise" (Said, 1997: 21).

2.4 Mass media, Media Event and 11th September

Elisabeth Noelle - Neumann and Rainer Mathes in the article "The 'Event as Event' and the Event News" (1987) highlighted in their study that "media coverage focused on the violent events which were marginal to the demonstration. Reality and media reality were poles apart" (Noelle - Neumann and Mathes, 1987: 392). This affirmation, based in the 1970 study *Demonstration and Communications* by Halloran, Elliot and Murdock - which

present an assessment of the coverage during a protest against Vietnam War in London at that time – can currently apply to the 11th September coverage.

For Noelle - Neumann and Mathes the consonance in media content can basically be established at three different levels. At the level of agenda-setting (McCombs and Shaw 1972) a decision is made as to which topics are to be reported and, vice-versa, which topics and events are not to be reported and at the level of focusing, the perspectives to be adopted in reporting are determined. “The mass media have the function of huge concave mirrors, which focus attention on certain dimensions and aspects of an issue” (Noelle - Neumann and Mathes, 1987: 395).

In the 11th September coverage, the “concave mirrors” focus on the manicheistic discourse of George W. Bush and the international security policy of the United States of America. The political and cultural background was reduced to a narrative of ‘good versus evil’, framing the westerns as victims and the Muslims as evil. “When we come to look at news values we will see the extent to which media reporting techniques tend to portray events according to a pre-conceived format, replete with a standard gallery of rogues, heroes and villains” (Noelle-Neumann and Mathes, 1987: 407).

The unison narrative disseminated by Bush’s government to the mass media has favoured not only the country’s interests but also, for Ervand Abrahamian, it was an endorsement of Huntington's Clash of Civilisation’s theory.

The historian, specialised in the Middle East and Iran, in his research “The US media, Huntington and September 11”, published in 2013, gave evidence of the partial narrative from the national media.

“A cursory glance at the US media after September 11 leaves no doubt as to Huntington’s triumph. The media framed the whole crisis within the context of Islam, of cultural conflicts, and of Western civilisation threatened by the other. Even the liberal New York Times adopted this framework, and then tried every so often to distinguish between good and bad Muslims, between the correct and incorrect interpretations of Islam, and between peaceful and violent understandings of the Koran” (Abrahamian, 2003: 531).

To achieve these findings, Abrahamian analysed the most relevant newspapers of the U.S.A and their coverage of the event.

As a result, he affirms that “the way September 11 was framed has left two lingering implications—one social, the other intellectual. On the social level, it inadvertently but inevitably unleashed a backlash against the US Muslim community. By framing the crisis within the context of Islam, it made all Muslims suspect—unless they could prove themselves innocent of either being terrorists or sympathising with terrorists... Even more disturbing are the intellectual implications. What is disturbing about Huntington’s triumph is that it has taken place in a pluralistic society with apparently open and free media—but one that has implicitly drawn a taboo line on what can and cannot be said” (Abrahamian, 2003: 538-539).

The lack of pluralism in the U.S.A press was also highlighted by Noam Chomsky. The massive information spread for the mass media in a large period after the attacks were pointed by the linguist in many articles, lectures and interviews - reunited in two books, 09-11 (2001) and Power and Terror (2003) - as one of the main arguments of the supporters of the invasions. It was responsible for inserting the ‘possibility of a war’ in the audience agenda and to create an unsafe atmosphere that resulted in two invasions in few years and a forged sense of responsibility to ‘combat the terror’.

“The fact is that plans are being drawn up and programs being implemented on the assumption that they can cause the deaths of millions of people in the coming months. All very informally, *en passant*, without further reflection on it. All seen as normal and ordinary, both in the US and in part of Europe... The national media typically target and serve elite opinion, groups that, on the one hand, provide an optimal “profile” for advertising purposes, and, on the other, play a role in decision –making in the private spheres”. (Chomsky, 2002:7).

Another resource shed to light for Chomsky to legitimate the “war against terror” is the ‘quality treatment of worthy and unworthy victims’, which might manipulate the audience to take part in one side of the story and ignore the human rights of the another, a way to dehumanise the potential threat.

“U.S. policies to proceed more easily, unburdened by the interference of concern over the politically inconvenient victims. It is not credible reply that difficulty in getting evidence on “unworthy” victims, as an alternative press with meagre resources has been able to gather a great deal of material on their mistreatment from highly credible sources, such as major human rights organisations and church representatives. Furthermore, only political factors can explain the differences in quality treatment of worthy and unworthy victims noted throughout this book, illustrated in chapter 2 by the more antiseptic reporting of the abuse of unworthy victims” (Herman and Chomsky, 2002: 262).

2.4.1 Brazilian media and 11th September

The 11th September attacks was a mark in the coverage of events in the whole world. In Brazil, several reports have shown that most mass media vehicles adopted the official discourse of the U.S.A., basing the articles on the speeches of “world authorities”. Some articles gave space to divergent opinions through interviews and analyses, but most of them reproduced the content of relevant foreign newspapers. One of the reasons pointed was the immediate necessity to publish news about the attacks and the impossibility to send international correspondents for all of the countries which were involved in the event.

In the study ‘The Westernization of Information’ published at the Brazilian Journal of Communication Sciences, INTERCOM in 2004 – the most relevant Communication publication in the country - Ana Virginia Borges Queiroz, researcher of the International Relations sector of the Universidade Jorge Amado (Bahia, Brazil), analysed how the Brazilian media had covered the 11th September in the period of 12 September 2001 to 2005 and identified the same point of view of Said, in which the media portrayed Islam as dangerous.

In the analysis, Queiroz verified the prejudiced and pejorative tone regarding the Islamic communities in the right-wing *Veja* Magazine – the most import magazine in the country. The edition published in the 17th October 2001 presents to the audience superficial and prejudiced information about historical facts:

"In this universe of turbans, a depressive syndrome was established, provoked by the friction between a past of glories and a gift of failures". In another frame from the 14th October 2001 edition, the vehicle show ignorance and religious intolerance, as seen by this example: *"Saudi Arabia is yet another of the fundamental allies in the campaign of the fools of Allah who want to set the world on fire for an integralist campfire"* (Queiroz, 2004: 03-04).

According to the research, "the approach is simplistic and Westernized, as well as containing qualitative elements that incite difference and clash between West and East" (Queiroz, 2004: 17).

The terms that the researcher identified in *Veja* magazine, which referred to the Muslims were: "bearded", "crazy Islamic fanatics", "beards of extremist movements", "Islam fanatics", "soldiers in a holy war against the West", and "Muslim fanatics". For her, the editorial line of *VEJA* magazine followed the theoretical thought of the orientalist Bernard Lewis, author of the book *'What went wrong in the Middle East?'*.

For Lewis, the Muslims who were already "superior" to the West in all aspects would have settled. Meanwhile, Europeans with their inventions and experiments would have surpassed the Muslims, becoming an economic, political, military and cultural model, which would have spread and continue to spread the pollen of prosperity. His ideas, similar to Huntington's, were hugely disseminated in the advent of the 11th September attacks, what made him well known in the academy.

Ingrid Gomes, professor in the Faculty of Communication of the Federal University of Uberlandia (Minas Gerais, Brazil), had reached results similar to Queiroz's. In the article "Coverage of Islam – marginal and moral narratives", published in the Brazilian Journal of Communication Sciences, INTERCOM in 2014, Gomes investigated two national broadsheets coverage.

Although the analysed articles haven't shown pejorative terms, such as in *Veja* Magazine, most of them were partial, presenting only the Western narrative.

Gomes related the partiality of the news with the fact both media vehicles had they international correspondents based in the U.S.A. "The presence of the reporters of the two newspapers in the United States, the place they enunciate, collaborated with the frequent use of official terms, leaving no room for problematization of content and questioning on the subject" (Gomes, 2014: 85).

Another fact observed by Gomes was the effort of the media to classify the Muslims as the 'Others', what was also pointed by Said and Chomsky in several articles and interviews. For the professor of communications, "the presence of dehumanisation about any other goes against the logic of journalism. In addition, it is constructing a controversial reality saturated with polarisations and conflicts, whether religious or of the simple order of behaviour" (Gomes, 2014: 86).

To bring a different point of view for the debate 'Brazilian Media versus 11th September', the Brazilian journalist and historian Jacques Wainberg surveyed the impact of the events in the audience and how the audience profiled the fundamentalist terrorist.

The results were presented in the article "Terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism and Brazilian's social imaginary", published in the Brazilian Journal of Communication Sciences, INTERCOM in 2008.

Wainberg brought for the discussion an interesting comparison. For him, "the Brazilian is an individual with ambiguous positions" (Wainberg, 2008: 167). "Meanwhile, most of the Brazilian intellectuals tend to stand in opposition to the American strategy, there is an admiration for the American's Lifestyle for part of ordinary people, what made they take part in the U.S.A. rhetoric. (Wainberg, 2008: 167).

2.4.2 Islamic Terrorism coverage in Irish Media

Very little was found in the literature on the question of the relation between the Irish media and the coverage of Islam. An exception was James Carr, Professor of the Department of Sociology in the University of Limerick, and his researches about Islamophobia and Racism in Ireland.

In his article 'You can't have Muslim Irish children. Media, Islamophobia and Ireland – Constructing Different Shades of Green', Carr argues that "very little research exists on the role of the media in constructing Muslim and Islam as Other in the Irish context; less still on the perceptions of Muslims men and women towards various media outlets" (Carr, 2016: 29).

With the aim to identify the main reasons for the xenophobic behaviour in Ireland against its Muslim communities, the research lists the media as one of the responsibilities for the misleading knowledge about Islam.

"Why are Islamophobic sentiments, regardless of their source, allowed to persist? I argue that this lack of condemnation *vis-à-vis* anti-Muslim sentiment is a noted aspect in contemporary Islamophobic discourses. There are today acceptability and normalisation of Islamophobia. The role of the media in this normalisation cannot be ignored (Allen and Nielsen 2002)". (Carr, 2016: 36).

Despite the fact that less than 26% of the participants of his survey (Carr, 2016: 39) reported they had witnessed anti-Muslim sentiment by Irish media, the researcher believes the "media actors in a given social context (e.g. the so-called 'war on terror') can encourage racist prejudice through representations of group identities that actively transmit 'stereotypes of one group to other groups' (Hall cited in Frost 2008: 570)" (Carr, 2016: 36).

Fragments of a pejorative and prejudice statements were also described by him as incontestable evidence of the stereotypical vision of Islamic communities in Irish media.

"In the Irish context, media actors have played their part in the discursive chorus that stereotypically characterises all Muslims as terrorist fundamentalists through sensationalist reportage depicting Muslim communities as the 'enemy within', fuelling what Cole (2011: 128) refers to as the perception of Muslim as the 'green menace'. In the past decade, press headlines on Muslim communities in Ireland have included 'Fascist fundamentalism is rife among young Irish Muslim' or 'The green jihadis'" (Carr, 2016: 38).

In the study 'From Suspect to Suspecting – Muslim Communities in Ireland and the Irish Gaze', Carr also highlighted the narrow view of the national communication vehicles in their portrayal of Irish Muslims.

"Irish media actors are immune to engaging in anti-Muslim discourse. In 2013, the Irish national television broadcaster aired a program on Muslim communities in Ireland that purported to reveal the reality of those risky Muslim communities in Ireland... This is not new. In a report published almost a decade ago, the now-defunct National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCIR) stated that there was an "increase in alarmist, selective" media reportage in stories relating to Muslim communities in Ireland" (Carr, 2015: 61).

An interesting argument brought to him in this article is the comparison of the situation of the Muslim communities which has been stigmatising in the media around the world, with the Irish situation in Britain during the 80's and 90's, when the Irish were seen as terrorists (IRA events) and inferiors.

"In addition to being constructed as a terrorist *risk*, differing somewhat from the Irish experience, Muslim communities are also caricatured as a cultural problem and incompatible with a reductive, selective view of *British values* (Vakil, 2014)" (Carr, 2015: 56).

2.5 Representation and Media

Stewart Hall's Theory of Representation is essential for this academic thesis by providing an analysis of how mass media portrays Muslim communities to the audiences. The semiotic and discursive approaches described by Hall in his studies are one of the bases of this analysis in order to answer the research question.

According to Stewart Hall, "representation is the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any system which deploys signs, any signifying system) to produce meaning. Already, this definition carries the important premise that things – objects, people, events in the world – do not have in themselves any fixed, final or true meaning." (Hall, 1997 - 45).

Hall argues that the process of representation itself constitutes the very world it aims to represent, and explores how the shared language of a culture, its signs and images, provide a conceptual roadmap that gives meaning to the world rather than simply reflecting it. Hall's concern throughout is the centrality of culture to the shaping of our collective perceptions, and how the dynamics of media representation reproduce forms of symbolic power.

It means the notion of representation is seen as a creative act, which refers to what people think about the world, what they are in this world, and what world that is, which people are referring to, transforming representations into objects of critical and scientific analysis of the real.

To develop his interpretation of the theory of representation, Hall “drew a distinction between three different accounts or theories: the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist approaches to representation” (Hall, 1997 – 01). And he also focuses on two major variants or models of the constructionist approach – the semiotic approach, influenced by the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, and the discursive approach, associated to the French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault.

For Hall, Saussure has the main influence on his `social constructionist view of language and representation`. “His importance lies not in his detailed work in linguistics, but in his general view of representation and the way his model of language shaped the semiotic approach to the problem of representation in a wide variety of cultural fields” (Hall, 1997 – 16).

Stuart Hall goes even further when he says that Saussure’s “importance lies not in his detailed work in linguistics but in his general view of representation and the way his model of language shaped the semiotic approach to the problem of representation in a wide variety of cultural fields” (Hall, 1997 – 16).

This approach is essential to understand the relation between the language (written, oral or visual) and the social conception each cultural group has about something. It is, in my opinion, still very influential in the way the audience decodes mass media products through their interpretation of the product according to their social network.

On the other hand, the approach of representation from Michel Foucault concerned the production of knowledge (rather than just meaning) through what he called discourse (rather than just language) (Hall, 1997 – 27). According to him, Foucault's project aimed to analyse 'how human beings understand themselves in our culture' and how our knowledge about 'the social, the embodied individual and shared meanings' comes to be produced in different periods. 'Relations of power, not relations of meaning' are the central points of his studies.

The point made by Foucault has become a basis to Stuart Hall's representation study because he (Foucault) "studied not language, but discourse as a system of representation" (Hall, 1997 – 29). "By 'discourse', Foucault meant 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment. ... Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But ... since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect' (Hall, 1992, p. 291)" (Hall, 1997 – 30).

"His concern is with knowledge provided by the human and social sciences, which organises conduct, understanding, practice and belief, the regulation of bodies as well as whole populations. Although his work is clearly done in the wake of, and is profoundly influenced by, the 'turn to language' which marked the constructionist approach to representation, his definition of discourse is much broader than language, and includes many other elements of practice and institutional regulation which Saussure's approach, with its linguistic focus, excluded" (Hall, 1997 – 36).

The co-relation of knowledge, power and representation in Foucault work impacted the way discourse is created, considering the historical period and the power of one under another. It is an interesting point when we study representation by the mass media.

"Foucault argued that not only is knowledge always a form of power, but power is implicated in the questions of whether and in what circumstances knowledge is to be applied or not. This question of the application and effectiveness of power/knowledge was more important; he thought that the question of its 'truth'. Knowledge linked to

power not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true. All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has real effects and, in that sense at least, 'becomes true'. Knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practices. (Hall, 1997 - 33).

2.6 Mass media and news values

Mass media has played a vital role in reporting events in society. However, we cannot forget that when analysing the quality and accuracy of a report "most mass media are in the hands of big companies and are subject to the same sort of influence as any other capitalist enterprise" (Barrat, 1986: 54). Therefore, mass media might be 'influenced' by elites and interest groups, affecting the direction of major events "in the real world" that will be addressed to the audience. That fact can cause a biased and incomplete report of the information that is targeted to the public. Barrat, quoting Cirino (1973), reinforces the idea of "many matters of importance to the public are effectively suppressed in the media by powerful interest groups".

Government is the main part of the interest groups. Even in democratic societies based on a free speech and freedom of the press "... journalists and reporters are highly dependent on information provided for them by the government. Control over this information flow provides governments with an important means of influencing the media" (Barrat, 1986).

The force of the government in the Iraq war is only one of the examples of how the mass media may be manipulated by this segment. Powerful groups and media have built a relation of dependence. Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman analysed this 'alliance' in their book "Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media".

"The mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest... Economics dictates that they concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs, where important rumours and leaks abound, and where regular press conferences are held" (Herman and Chomsky, 2002: 125).

Even being part of a business corporation, media institutions must be engaged with the conception of news value which “provides some answers to the question of how news workers pick out some events in the real world as newsworthy... These news values will also influence the way in which events are presented by the news media” (Barrat, 1986: 72).

In theory, news value is what can guarantee a high standard coverage of the topics, which is important to the public opinion. Nevertheless, in the ‘real world’ business/economics pressures may suppress news institutions’ commitment with the truth.

In his book, ‘Journalism cultures and public service ethics – Evaluating the democratic value of news’, Stephen Cushion, lecturer in the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies, reinforces the argument of a polarising media that is focused in a Western media agenda, and with limited values of democracy.

“On a global scale, many studies of war reporting have tended to conclude that journalism is largely shaped by Western political and military elites rather than a wider pool of sources including those possibly opposed to military action or emanating from countries in conflict with Western interests.” (Cushion, 2012: 127).

For him, “systematic content analysis of journalism journal articles found that studies focused on just a select few wars with Western interests, leaving many areas of the world largely neglected (Cushion 2008). So, for example, many nations in Africa, such as the Congo, Sudan, Uganda, Angola, Sierra Leone and Liberia, have not been subject to sustained academic attention despite a huge human rights violations and the loss of millions of lives in wars and conflicts”. (Cushion: 2012. 127).

Chapter III - Methodology

3.1 Overview

In order to investigate whether or not the mass media have collaborated to increase the perception of an unsafe society by spreading the notion of the “Islamic Terrorism” as a global threat, and thus contributing to stereotyping the Muslim community out and in the West, I have researched and analysed the coverage of two broadsheets (one in Ireland and one in Brazil) regarding major terrorist events during two different periods of time.

Kaden (2001) argues that choosing the most appropriate methodology is a crucial step for any research. For him, the research methodology is chosen and implemented according to the nature of the topic. Considering that this research aims to investigate the media through newspapers articles, I have decided to use both quantitative and qualitative content analysis to achieve the results.

As I mentioned in chapter I, the research question of this work is:

Media and collective fear: has mass media contributed to creating an atmosphere of collective fear addressing Islamic terrorism?

The three objectives identified to answer this question are:

1. To identify words and/or expressions in mass media coverage which address Islamic terrorism as a global threat and contributed to constructing the atmosphere of an unsafe society;
2. To investigate if the mass media is providing balanced information and promoting a plural and unbiased debate;
3. To understand if the coverage style of the two publications has changed from the first event (11th September attacks) to the latest (Paris attacks).

3.2 Content Analysis

Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon in the article 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis' define the methodology as a flexible method for analysing text data (Cavanagh, 1997).

"The qualitative analysis includes a family of analytic approaches ranging from impressionistic, intuitive and interpretive analyses to systematic and strict textual analyses (Rosengren, 1981). The specific type of content analysis approach chosen by a researcher varies according to the theoretical and substantive interests of the researcher and the problem being studied (Weber, 1990)" (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1279).

Content analysis is usually limited to classifying it as primarily a qualitative versus a quantitative research method. A thorough analysis of the ways in which qualitative content analysis can be used would potentially illuminate key issues for researchers to consider in the design of studies, thus incentivising the use of content analysis and the analytic procedures employed in such studies, avoiding a muddling of methods (Morse, 1991 cited by Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1280).

The qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1280).

"Research using qualitative content analysis focuses on the characteristics of language as communication, with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967; Lindkvist, 1981; McTavish & Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990). Text data might be in verbal, print, or electronic form and might have been obtained from narrative responses, open-ended survey questions, interviews, focus groups, observations or print media such as articles, books or manuals (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002)" (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1282).

The qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words to examine language intensely in order to classify large amounts of texts into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber, 1990). These categories can represent either explicit communication or inferred communication. The goal of the qualitative content

analysis is “to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study” (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992, p. 314 cited by Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1282).

3.3 Case of Study

This research analysed the coverage of terrorist attacks in The Irish Times in Ireland and Folha de Sao Paulo in Brazil, two of the most relevant broadsheets in their countries, in two different periods: 11th September 2001 to 30th September 2001 (World Trade Center attacks) and 01st January 2015 to 31st December 2015. The geopolitical position of both countries was also an important factor for the choice of the case study.

3.3.2 Newspapers background

The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo perform a similar role in Irish and Brazilian societies. They have the same format, follow a similar editorial line, have similar typography and are considered reputable and responsible with their audiences.

- **The Irish Times**

According to the newspaper official website, The Irish Times, which has the circulation of 77,657 copies for its print and ePaper editions per day, was first published in 1885, but only in 1900 the newspaper, which was owned by the Arnott family, became a public company.

In 1994 The Irish Times became the first newspaper in the British Isles and one of 30 worldwide to establish a website. Five years later, it began publishing online editions on ireland.com. In 2008, the print and online newsrooms were integrated, and the website moved from ireland.com to irishtimes.com.

- **Folha de Sao Paulo**

According to the paper’s official website, Folha de Sao Paulo is the newspaper with the largest circulation in Brazil, with an average of 302.007 copies sold per day, 172.456.869 page views (June 2018) in its online version, and 29.349.179 unique users (June 2018).

It is part of The Folha Group, one of the country's main media conglomerates. The group also controls the largest Brazilian internet content and service company (UOL), the

newspaper news site with the most viewers (Folha.com) and the largest printing business in Brazil (Plural), along with other businesses.

The story of the Folha Group began in 1921 when "Folha da Noite" (Night Folha) was founded in São Paulo as a newspaper aimed at the urban middle class that emerged from a society still based on the coffee monoculture. Then came the newspapers "Folha da Manhã" (1925) and "Folha da Tarde" (1949). The three newspapers were merged in 1960, giving rise to Folha de S.Paulo. The group also publishes the newspaper "Agora", the leading popular tabloid in the state of São Paulo.

There are also three other newspapers published: "Agora" (Now), a leader among the popular daily papers of the State of São Paulo, "Valor Econômico" (Economic Value), launched in 2000 in association with the Globo Organization, and "Alô Negócios" (Hello Business), the largest newspaper of the capital of the State of Paraná (Curitiba) in the number of classified ads.

Among the publications, Folha de S.Paulo also publishes the magazines "São Paulo and Serafina" and the "Guia Folha" (Folha Guide), the paper "Agora" and the "Revista da Hora".

The group - which employs nine thousand people and generates about seven thousand more jobs indirectly - also has Datafolha, one of the most respected research institutes in the country, a book publisher (Publifolha), a virtual bookstore (Livraria da Folha), a news agency (Folhapress), a graphic design agency (CTG-F, which is one of the largest and most modern graphic design facilities in Latin America), Transfolha, dedicated to the distribution of the Folha Group's products, a printer dedicated to newsletters and brochures for companies, publishers and publicity agencies (FolhaGráfica) and the SPDL, the distribution and logistics company established in association with the newspaper "O Estado de S. Paulo" (second in the circulation copies).

3.3.3 Analyses Length

In a lecture, Noam Chomsky (2002) was questioned by a student if "*the September 11 attacks were a historical event?*" He answered affirmatively: "As I said, I believe so. 11

September was an event historical but regrettably, not by the dimensions of the catastrophe. It's unpleasant to think about it, but regarding scale, the attacks were not uncommon - although it may be that no other crime in history has had more instant human victims" (Chomsky, 2002: 05).

For mass media, the impact was also historical. Alan Taylor, in a special article for The Atlantic Magazine, argued *"it was one of the most-covered media events of all time, and after a decade, the images are still difficult to view. These attacks and the global reaction to them have profoundly shaped the world we live in"* (The Atlantic, 2008).

The importance of the event for the press was also a theme for the news article 'Newspapers freeze the day the world stood still Television, radio and newspapers have been consumed by the attack on America', written by Michael Foley and published at The Irish Times only six days after the attacks. *"Terrorism is a phenomenon of a media age: it depends on publicity to have an impact. The attacks in New York and Washington can be viewed as the first major act of terror in the new media age"* (Michael Foley, The Irish Times – 17.09.2001).

As this episode is fundamental to answer the research question, the first period analysed in this thesis refers to this historical moment of instability and change. The research gathered articles published in print and online versions from 11th September 2001 to 30th September 2001, in order to investigate the initial coverage of terrorist attacks in the 21st Century.

As mentioned in the literature review, authors such as Said (2003), Chomsky (2002) and Abrahamian (2003) have highlighted the lack of knowledge about Islam by the mass media, journalists and specialists. This polarised the coverage regarding Islam and popularised the U.S.A. government narrative to the world.

The second period analysed, from 01st January 2015 to 31st December 2015, was marked for important contemporary events as well. In this year, the insurgent group Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS or only Islamic State (IS)), started its incursion in Europe.

In addition, 2015 started with an emblematic terrorist attack on the Charlie Hebdo Magazine newsroom on 7th January, and ended with the massive ISIS attack in Paris, on 13th November, events which brought back to news the 'war on terror' discourse.

Identifying the differences in the coverage approach in these two periods, which were separated by 14 years, was fundamental in answering the research question.

3.3.4 Location

The decision to study Irish and Brazilian media vehicles was not only because the researcher is a Brazilian native resident in Ireland, but also because both countries, as a result of their security policy focus on dialogue and conciliation, have never been officially considered a threat by any 'Islamic terrorist' group.

However, as mentioned in chapter II, both countries have experienced a biased coverage of terrorism, what might encourage prejudice towards minority groups (Carr, 2016) (Queiroz, 2004).

3.4 Data collection

The study searched for the terms "terrorism" and "terrorist attack", on two different platforms. For The Irish Times, the researcher used the articles available on Lexis Nexis, and for Folha de Sao Paulo, the researcher used the material available on its digital archive for members.

In total, the research analysed 3.857 articles - 838 from The Irish Times and 3.019 from Folha de Sao Paulo - published in the print and/or online version and divided in 2.588 from 11th September to 30th September 2001, and 1.269 from 01st January 2015 to 31st January 2015.

	2001	2015	Total
The Irish Times	598	240	838
Folha de Sao Paulo	1.990	1.029	3.019
Total	2.588	1.269	3.857

Table 2. Number of results returned by the search

At the beginning of the study, the researcher was considering to dismiss the articles published in the Letters, Business, and Sports sections. However, during the analysis period, the researcher identified relevant material related to the theme of study in the Letters and Business categories.

For example, The Irish Times daily published from four to seven letters about the event under the sub-section *`Terrorist Attacks In The United States`*. Interestingly, the initiative provided a channel to *`give voice`* to the opinions of *`extra-official sources`*, attracting intellectuals, NGO's executives and representatives of different religions, as can be observed in the edition published in 14th September, in which Imam Hussein Halawa, from Clonskeagh mosque in Dublin, stated the opinion of the Irish Muslim community about the attacks.

"We strongly denounce and condemn any aggression, terrorism and killing perpetrated against the innocent people in any corner of the world and in particular this horrible terrorist act which took place in America... I call on the world to think thoroughly and rationally, not to make of Islam and Muslims an enemy and not to punish the innocent for the crime of the guilty." (Imam Hussein Halawa. The Irish Times, 14.09.2001).

The *`Letters`* encouraged the debate, promoting different points of views, what can be particularly useful in achieving the second objective, which investigates if the mass media is providing balanced information and promoting a plural and unbiased debate. Thus, the section was included in the analyses.

"Business" was also inserted in the study because it was the second section with the larger number of reports related to the search of words. In addition, the negative background presented in the coverage can be associated with the first objective of this research, which aims to identify words and/or expressions that contributed to constructing the atmosphere of an unsafe society.

The tables below illustrate the articles analysed divided by sections:

	The Irish Times	
Section	11.09.2001 – 30.09.2001	01.01.2015 – 31.12.2015
World	269	39
Business	107	124
Editorial / Analysis	28	14
Home news	66	17
Opinion	16	18
Culture / Education	4	1
Health	1	-
Technology	3	-
Media	2	-
Letters	81	27
Sport	21	-
Total	598	240

Table 3. Number of articles published in The Irish Times returned by a search divided by section

	Folha de Sao Paulo	
Section	11.09.2001 – 30.09.2001	01.01.2015 – 31.12.2015
World	1246	650
Business	484	21
Editorial / Analysis	172	115
Home news	19	65
Opinion	42	159
Culture / Education	12	-
Health / Science	3	-
Technology	7	-
Media	1	-
Letters	2	-
Sport	2	19
Total	1.990	1.029

Table 4. Number of articles published at Folha de Sao Paulo returned by a search divided by section

3.5 Data analysis

The analysis of data was an essential step of the research. First, the data obtained through the collection was divided into three different themes and analysed thematically, in order to provide relevant material to achieve the three objectives of the study and answer the thesis question.

Key themes were then further analysed to identify possible sub-themes, followed by assessing the frequency with which sub-themes were mentioned to assess their relevance, which is an aspect Clarks (2003) considers essential in the appropriate analysis of qualitative and quantitative data.

3.5.1 Mass Media and the fear culture

The first objective of this research is to identify words and/or expressions in mass media coverage which address Islamic terrorism as a global threat and contributed to constructing the atmosphere of an unsafe society.

According to Bauman, "a person who has internalised a worldview that includes insecurity and vulnerability will routinely resort, even in the absence of genuine threat, to appropriate reactions to an immediate encounter with danger; the "derived fear" acquires the capacity of self-propulsion" (Bauman, 2008: 09).

As mentioned in the literature review, several reports have shown a relation between collective fear and mass media. For Rachel Pain, "this pattern of fear is introduced to a dominant power - such as government and media - in the public sphere, what makes the 'culture of fear' argument actually underplays 'the fact that people not only conduct their lives with affects and emotions but also in the absence of capacities for evaluating full and transparent information' (Isin, 2004: 220)" (Pain, 2009, 467).

Bauman adopted the same argument as Pain. He argues that "the fact that such fears are not absolutely imaginary can be confirmed by the dominant authority of the media, which defends - visibly and tangibly - a reality that cannot be seen or touched without its help" (Bauman, 2008: 29).

To investigate if the media coverage of terrorist events is contributing to the creation of collective fear in regards to Islamic terrorism, the study used quantitative and qualitative analyses of the content provided by the collected articles.

In reviewing the literature, it was pointed out that to obtain a full result the semiotic analyses of the content was based on the Theory of Representation by Stewart Hall. The relation of discourse as a system of representation and power (Hall, 1997 – 29) is fundamental to understand how the media is constructing the Islamic terrorist profile.

The analysis of the data for this theme was divided into two phases:

- **Quantitative analyses:**

The first phase identified words and expressions which might influence the audience in the construction of the Islamic terrorist stereotype and the construction of the unsafe society atmosphere.

The data investigation identified 38 keywords, as can be seen in the table below, featured in the articles of both newspapers analysed by the study.

Islamic	Threat	War	Muslim
Islamic Terrorism	Terrorist Threat	War on Terror	Muslim fundamentalism
Islamic terrorist	Global Threat	War on terrorism	Religious fanaticism
Islamic fundamentalism	War threat	Holy War	Radicalism
Islamic extremism	economic instability	3rd World War	Religious radicalism
Islamic Radicalism	Job losses	Crusades	Mass terrorisms
Enemy	Recession	Hate	Jihad
Evil	Crisis	Horror	Civilised World

Table 5. Keywords identified in the reportage of *The Irish Times*, and *Folha de Sao Paulo*

The quantitative analysis was also used to compare the adoption of these words in the coverage during 2001 and 2015, in order to investigate if their use has increased or decreased in the last years. The comparison will be presented in chapter IV.

The collection of these words was based on the number of times they were mentioned in the samples during the period analysed by the study.

- **Qualitative analysis**

In the second phase, the words were analysed according to the context they were inserted. The investigation focused on discovering if the narrative encoded in The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo had an impact in the way the audience decoded the representation of the Islamic community and the fear of a global threat.

The samples were examined through the Theory of Representation, which is focused on the production of knowledge through language, the discourse as a system of representation and the power (which can assume the authority to dictate 'the truth').

The findings will be displayed in the next chapter with frames of the broadsheets to illustrate the results.

3.5.2 Balance of information and the pluralism in the coverage

A purpose of this study was to investigate if the mass media is providing a balance of information, promoting a plural and unbiased debate.

In reviewing the literature, several reports have shown that coverage of terrorism in a global media tends to follow the Western narrative. Stephen Cushion, in his book "The Democratic Values of News", claims that the reporting of conflicts is not plural.

"Scholars have demonstrated that news is far from the "window on the world" it has set itself up to be. Instead, news delivers a highly partial prism through which to view and understand the world, consisting of a select few characters and countries, with a familiar set of conventions and practices and relatively predictable agenda of concerns and anxieties" (Cushion, 2012: 49-50).

The author highlights that a story is more likely to be selected for publication if it is easy to understand, concerns a recent event or issue or already holds currency or continuity for an audience without too much need of explanations (Cushion, 2012: 49-50). However, he argued that the lack of fulfilling information might compromise news quality.

“While the form and style of journalism should be moderated in order to be comprehensible to audiences, the empirical value of news (like remaining accurate or supplying interpretation) should not be sacrificed for populist purposes. By not compromising these journalism standards, what is being implied here is that a shared sense of “quality” news exists together with a core set of values to which journalists should subscribe to advance an understanding of the world” (Cushion, 2012: 53).

To investigate if The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo have provided balanced information about terrorism and contributed to a fair debate about the topic, the research analysed the number of external sources invited to publish in the “Opinion” section and if the content collaborated for a plural point of view.

The study also investigated, in the regular articles, how ordinary people involved in the events were portrayed. ‘Western and Eastern’ victims, “heroes” and “villains” (Cushion, 2012: 129) are being represented in the same way?

- **Quantitative analysis**

The investigation selected all the articles published in the Opinion section of both newspapers to identify how many were written by a journalist from the media analysed in this study, and how many came from an external specialist.

	The Irish Times	
	11.09.2001 – 30.09.2001	01.01.2015 – 31.12.2015
Internal source	8	16
External source	8	2
Total	16	18

Table 6. Number of internal and external sources in the Opinion section of The Irish Times

	Folha de Sao Paulo	
	11.09.2001 – 30.09.2001	01.01.2015 – 31.12.2015
Internal source	29	149
External source	13	10
Total	42	159

Table 7. Number of internal and external sources in the Opinion section of Folha de Sao Paulo

The content of the articles was also studied to identify if the narrative encouraged an impartial debate about the topic.

- **Qualitative analysis**

The research selected articles (interviews, profiles, mentions) which reported personal stories about ordinary people who – in a certain way – have participated in the events to examine if the coverage had given the same `voice` for people from both sides, Western and Eastern.

The objective was to study how they are portrayed, in order to know if the approach used by the media vehicles had some impact in the way the audience identified themselves with the characters presented by the news. It is essential to understand what audiences support and reject and to understand if the media humanises or dehumanises people during reports about conflicts.

3.5.3 Differences in the coverage in 2001 and 2015

To understand if the coverage style of the two publications has changed from the first event (the 11th September 2001 World Trade Center attacks) to the latest (the 13th November 2015 Paris attacks), the research quantitatively and qualitatively analysed three key points:

- **editorial line;**
- **sources;**
- **narrative.**

3.6 Limitations of this study

A number of limitations needed to be considered concerning this research. First of them was the collection of data.

Originally, this thesis was designed to analyse four media vehicles, The Irish Times, Folha de Sao Paulo, Irish Daily Star and Veja Magazine. However, the collection of data in the case of Irish Daily Star and Veja Magazine didn't fit in the length of the research. None of

them is available for consultation on digital platforms such as Lexis Nexis, Proquest and Irish News Archive.

The Irish Daily Star editions can be found in public libraries, but most of them keep print versions dated from the last six months. The 2001`s editions were found in the National Library of Ireland in microfilm format. It is possible to request only three editions per week, what was not sufficient to analyse the number of articles in the period suggested by the research.

The Veja Magazine collection of data found more than 8.000 articles about the theme. Sit was impossible to analyse such a high number of reports without the support of a research platform.

Though the newspaper Folha de Sao Paulo is also not available on online research platforms, the system of search available on the paper`s website made the data collection possible. The researcher became a member of the newspaper to have access to this service.

Chapter IV – Analysis and Findings

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the findings obtained from the analysis of 3.857 articles, 838 from The Irish Times and 3.019 from Folha de Sao Paulo, available in print and/or online, and divided between 2.588 articles from 11th September to 30th September 2001, and 1.269 articles from 01st January 2015 to 31st January 2015.

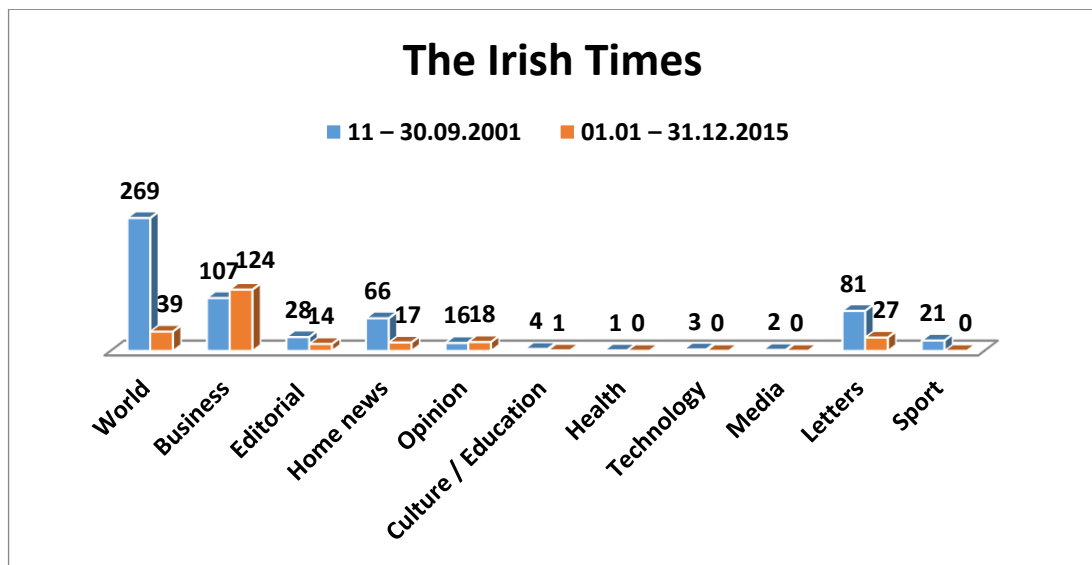


Chart 1. Number of articles divided by sections in the coverage of The Irish Times in 2001 and 2015

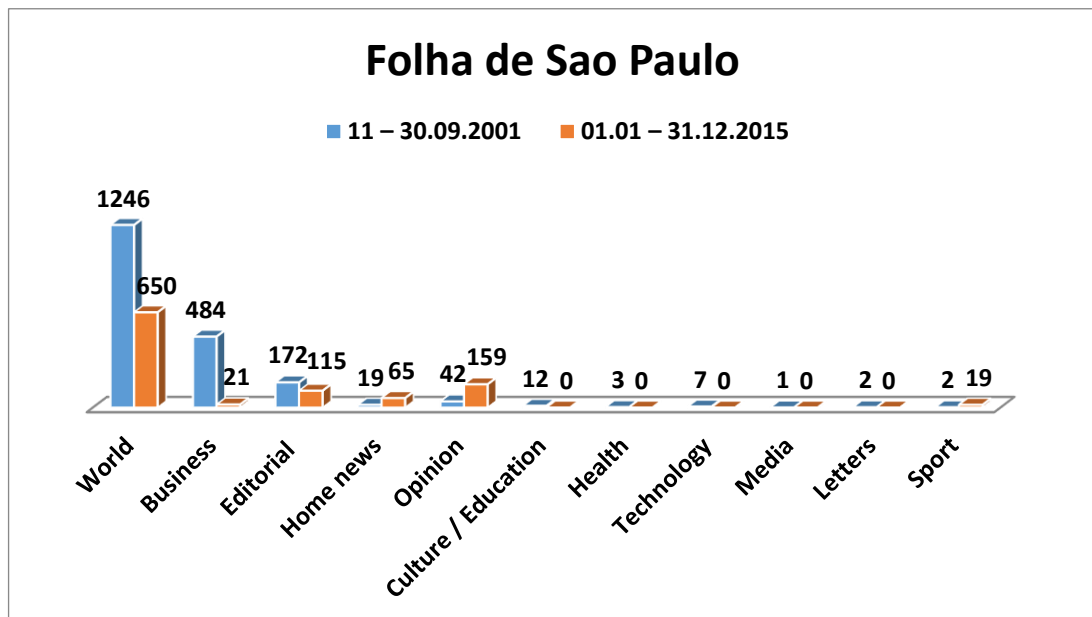


Chart 2. Number of articles divided by sections in the coverage of Folha de Sao Paulo in 2001 and 2015

Findings and analysis are displayed according to the objectives of the dissertation.

4.2 Objective 1: to identify words and/or expressions in mass media coverage which address Islamic terrorism as a global threat and contributed to building the atmosphere of an unsafe society.

To find a connection between how the mass media is addressing Islamic terrorist stereotypes and whether or not this can be related to the audience's collective perception of fear, the research used lexical analysis to deepen the investigation related to how the Islamic communities are being associated with terrorism in the news and how they are being represented by the media. The project also identified words that can be related to the idea of a global threat, thus contributing to the notion of an unsafe society.

As displayed in a table in chapter III, the study found 38 words commonly used in The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo during their coverage of terrorism.

The words 'Islamic', 'war', and 'threat' in the articles were associated with other terms, such as 'terrorist', 'terrorism', 'fundamentalism', 'extremism', 'radicalism', 'enemy', 'hate' and 'horror'. The relation between those three words and those negative terms could be one of the reasons behind the generalist and biased representation of Islamic communities and the connection to terrorism made by part of the audience.

This can be explained, as mentioned previously in the Literature Review, by Hall and his 'Theory of Representation'. In his theory, he suggested that representation is the process by which members of a culture use language to produce meaning (Hall, 1997: 45). He also argued, based on Foucault's study, that discourse is a system of representation that produces knowledge (Hall, 1997 – 30). For Foucault, knowledge, when linked to power, 'not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true' (Hall, 1997 - 33).

From this point of view, the research can describe the mass media, in this case, The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo, as a system of power, which can encode through their discourse representation of Islam as that of an uncivilised and fundamentalist society, through the association of words.

The investigation has shown that both newspapers didn't use pejorative terms to address the Islamic culture, what can be justified by their language choice (which values formal speech and avoid sensationalist expressions), by their editorial line and by their reputations as trustful sources of information. However, the analyses found that these media vehicles report terrorism according to who perpetrates the act.

In the 838 articles about terrorism examined in The Irish Times, 18 of them were not related to Islamic groups. None of them uses a combination of the word terrorist/terrorism alongside a word that refers to a culture, a religion or a nationality. Despite that, 169 articles combined the word Islamic with the words 'terrorist', 'terrorism', 'fundamentalism' and 'extremism'.

Folha de Sao Paulo had a similar approach. In 3.019 articles analysed, five were not related to Islamic groups, and only one of them, the article *'No amnesty, no peace', says Albanian rebels* published on 30 September 2001 with a content provided by Reuters, related terrorism with nationality. The words were written between quotation marks to highlight that was not an observation of the newspaper, as we can notice in the frame below:

*"But the Macedonian nationalists, afflicted by the **"Albanian terrorism"**, left the issue of amnesty out of the agenda of the Parliament what made the reform package being on hold".*

To achieve a more assertive result, the study investigated the words 'Islamic', 'war', and 'threat' separated. The results can be seen in this chapter.

- **Word: Islamic**

'Islamic' was used in 236 of 598 articles published in The Irish Times from 11th September to 30th September 2001. From this total (236), the word was associated with negative terms 41 times. In 2015, the word was applied in 187 of the 240 articles published by the same newspaper. In 20 of them, it was associated with negative terms.

The chart below illustrates the comparison between the use of this word and its combinations in 2001 and 2015.

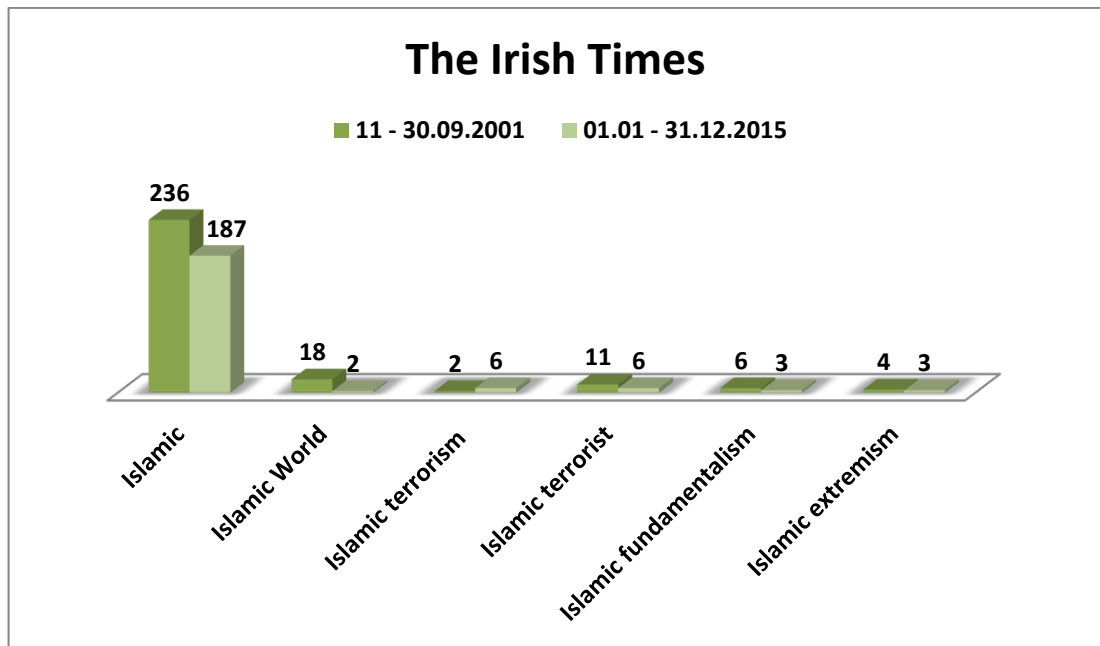


Chart 3. Comparison of the word *Islamic* and its associations in the coverage of *The Irish Times* in 2001 and 2015

Folha de Sao Paulo inserted the word 'Islamic' in 472 of 2.588 articles published from 11th September to 30th September 2001, 124 of them associated the word with negative terms. In 2015, 372 of 1.269 reports used the word, 145 in a negative relation with other terms, as can be observed in chart 4.

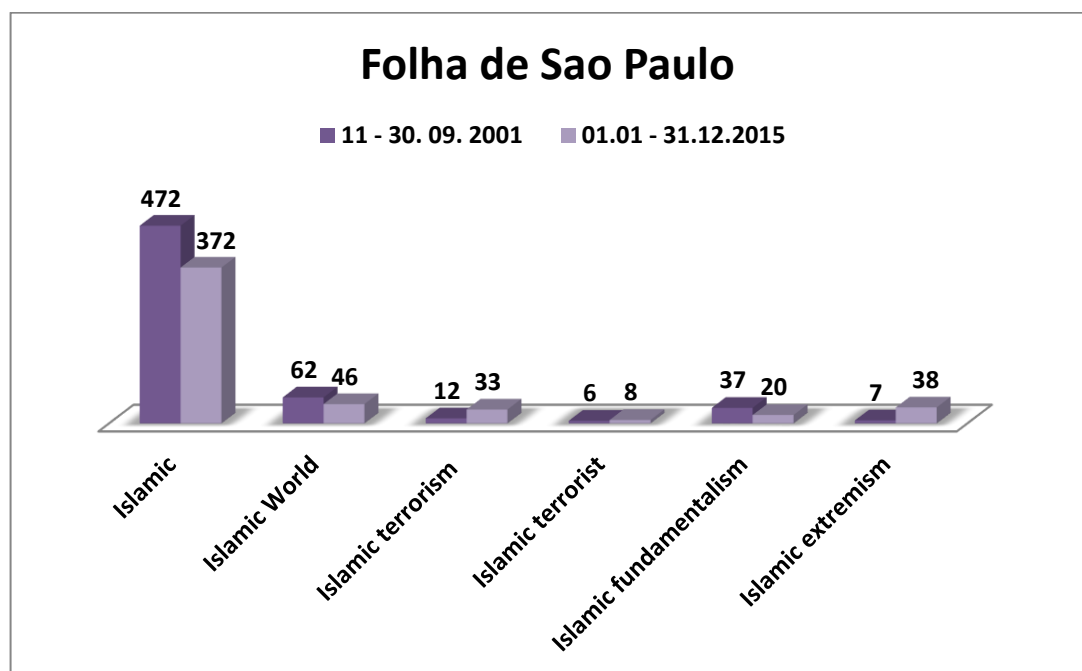


Chart 4. Comparison of the word *Islamic* and its associations in the coverage of *Folha de Sao Paulo* in 2001 and 2015

The researcher decided not to include in the figures the number of times the Islamic State was cited because of the Islamic world, since in this case, the term is applied to the name of a group, and it is not a combination that aims to stereotype the Islamic community.

Although The Irish Times used the word 'Islamic' more times during the coverage of the 11th September 2001, it is possible to affirm the use of the term increased in both of the newspaper's terrorism coverage from the 2001 events to the 2015 events.

A qualitative analysis of the articles has revealed one of the reasons for this difference was the uncertainty regarding who was the perpetrator of the September 11 attacks.

At the early moment of the event, the broadsheets followed a similar approach, reproducing only official statements and avoiding to blame any organisations. Osama bin Laden and American ultra-nationalist groups were deemed suspects by International Specialists, but the newspapers didn't combine the word 'Islamic' with 'terrorist' or 'terrorism'. It appeared that most of the time, the word was either used to describe previous attacks or in a historical context.

In the Irish Times, the word was used for the first time on 12th September 2001 in the article *'Osama bin Laden is top suspect'*, published in the section World (the journalist was not identified). The term was applied in two different moments of the text. First to name an insurgent group, which bin Laden was a member of, and second, to quote bin Laden, as can be observed in the frames below:

*"After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, some of the thousands of Mujahedin joined the Afghan war-lords who carried on a seemingly unending civil war. Others, who became known as "the Afghans", went back to their home countries or became freelancers in what could be called the **"Islamic International Brigades"**, the "Azzam Brigades".*

*"Mr bin Laden has repeatedly issued declarations of jihad or "holy war" and fatwas or "religious rulings" against the US because of its support for Israel and for pro-Western Arab governments he deems to be **"anti-Islamic"**, including the Saudi monarchy, which he*

*aims to overthrow and replace with a truly "**Islamic**" regime like that of the Taliban in Afghanistan".*

Folha de Sao Paulo used the word one day before, on 11th September, in the report *'Taliban denies bin Laden involvement in attacks in the U.S.'*, published in the online version of the newspaper by the newsroom. The article follows the same approach used by The Irish Times. The Brazilian newspaper inserted a variation of the term (Islamist) to denominate an origin of Taliban, not to condemn it:

*"Taliban, the **Islamist** group that controls 90 per cent of Afghanistan since 1998, and which imposed a regime marked by extremism and conservatism, said recently that Saudi Osama bin Laden is not involved in the attacks in the United States today".*

'Islamist' was associated with terrorism for the first time in the coverage of Folha de Sao Paulo on 11th September. The broadsheet used the declaration of the former Defence Minister of Israel, Binyamin Ben Eliezer, as the title of the article *"Israel government says **Islamist terrorism** is behind the attacks"*, published on the newspaper online platform.

The first appearance of the word combined to a negative term in The Irish Times occurred on 12th September in the article *'EU ministers in emergency session to decide on a response to attacks in the US'*, published in the world section. The report brought the declaration of the former EU External Affairs Commissioner, Mr Chris Patten. Although Mr Patten claimed to a rational reaction to the accusations of Islamic terrorism, the quotation points out the negative association between Islamic and extremists.

*"If the finger of suspicion continues to point to **Islamic extremists**, European governments will have to work out how to ensure that necessary security precautions do not lead to persecution and increased discrimination against Europe's Muslim population".*

The researcher observed that from the 19 days between 11th to 30th September, both newspapers maintained the position of only relating terrorism and Islamism in the quotations of official sources or opinion articles. However, the dominance of Western sources and their discourse of a war between the good democratic world, represented by

the West, versus the `big evil`, represented by the Islamic countries in the Middle East, collaborated to the notion of the Islamic society as uncivilised and violent.

The coverage of the 2015 events occurred in a completely different historical background. A considerable amount of literature has been published on 11th September describing the event as the mark that had established the new way of writing journalistic articles about terrorism. However, 2015 might be responsible for the current connection between terrorism and Islamism in the audience's imaginary.

One of the reasons for that is the media's relationship with the insurgent group Islamic State. This research investigation found that The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo linked most of the articles about terrorist attacks published in 2015 to the organisation. Seven articles, of 240 published in The Irish Times, were not connect to ISIS, while in Folha de Sao Paulo only three reports of 1.269 didn't mention the group.

The study has a hypothesis that these articles, which pointed out official statements made by ISIS as soon as the events happened, were, in the majority of the time, published without a proper examination, probably in order to meet the urgent demands of the online media.

Bauman suggests a point of view similar to this study, in which "most terrorist groups, concerned that their spectacular feats can be ignored by broadcasters, are poised to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the global information network ...True to its name, the supreme weapon of terrorism is to `sow` terror. And given the present state of the world, good yields are assured in spite of the inferior quality of the seed "(Bauman, 2008: 140).

The association of any terrorist attack and ISIS is even more evident analysing samples of some headlines:

*"Obama appeals for unity in **countering extremism**; US president says **mainstream Muslims** must help counter **Islamic State**'s appeal" (The Irish Times, 20th February 2015).*

*"**Islamic State** militants claim suicide attacks that kill 42" (The Irish Times, 21st February 2015).*

*“Number of extremists being monitored in the UK has increased to 3,000. The disclosure follows naming of Mohammed Emwazi as hooded **Islamic State** murderer” (The Irish Times, 28th February 2015).*

*“Relatives of **radicalised schoolgirls** have questions, not answers. Families of London teenagers who left to join **Islamic State** are critical of police” (The Irish Times, 11th March 2015).*

*“**Islamic State** orders **attacks on West** after 'Charlie Hebdo'” (Folha de Sao Paulo, 26th January 2015).*

*“Attacks give the impression that the **Islamic State is growing**” (Folha de Sao Paulo, 26th June 2015).*

*“**Islamic State** says US snipers were its **followers**” (Folha de Sao Paulo, 5th December 2015).*

The results of the data analysis suggest that both newspapers might collaborate to increase the audience's tendency to link terrorist events to Islamism.

The figures related to the use of the term 'Islamic terrorism' in both paper's coverage of terror events and the context in which they were inserted, can be related to what Hall, as mentioned in the Literature Review, defined as a representation. The media vehicles analysed had displayed a representation of terrorism as an Islamic issue, and therefore, they have contributed to spreading in society the Islamic terrorism stereotype.

- **Word: War**

The word 'war' was one of the most used in the reportage about terrorism in the period analysed by this study. The term was applied in 2.865 articles of the 3.857 examined. The Irish Times used 'war' in 515 different reports. Folha de Sao Paulo applied the word in 2.349 articles.

The word 'war' was combined with other words to form expressions such as 'war on terror', 'war on terrorism', 'holy war', and, 'Third World War', and was also associated with the historical word 'crusades'.

A comparison between the use of 'war' in The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo during the two different periods analysed by this research is displayed in the charts below:

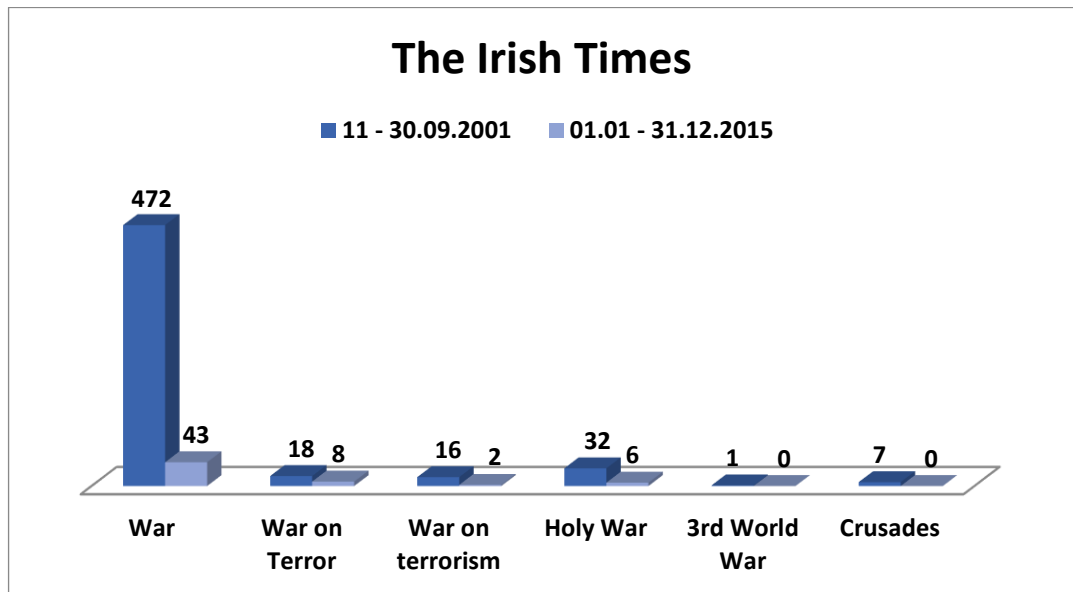


Chart 5. Comparison of the word 'war' and its associations in the coverage of The Irish Times in 2001 and 2015

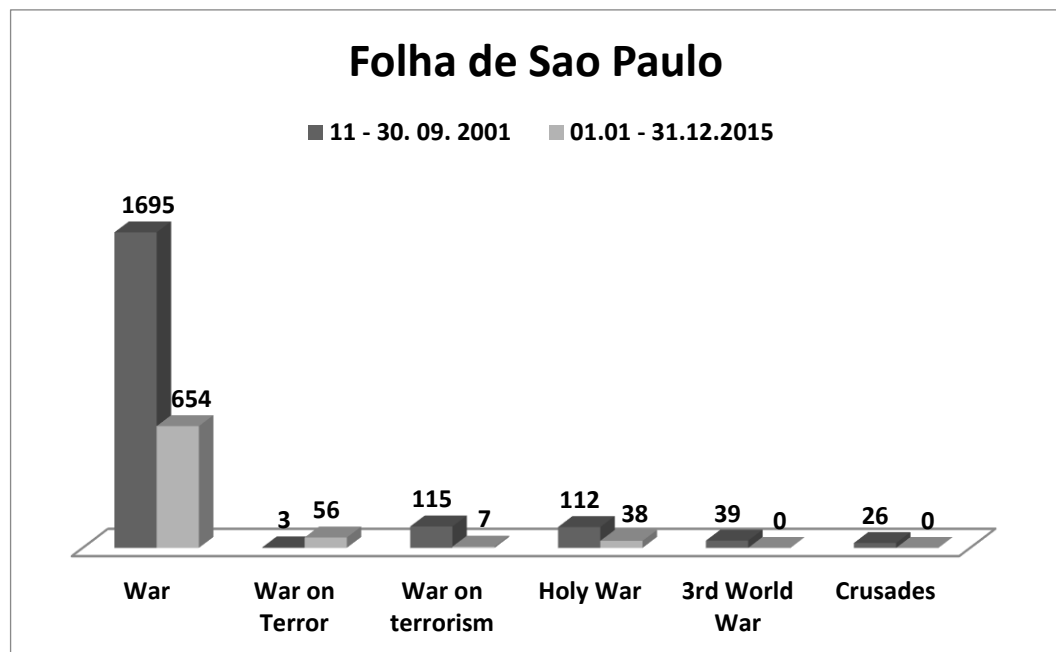


Chart 6. Comparison of the word 'war' and its associations in the coverage of Folha de Sao Paulo in 2001 and 2015

In the figures presented in the charts, the word 'war' was related to terrorism mainly in the coverage of the 11th September events. As mentioned in the Literature Review, many

authors such as Chomsky (2002), Cushion (2012) and Abrahamian (2003) agreed that the war narrative was established by the speech of the former U.S.A. president George W. Bush's, and then adopted by most of the government's authorities around the world.

Both papers analysed published very similar articles and quoted the same leaders of several Western countries. On 12th September 2011 only, the study identified that more than 20 different departments of Presidents and Prime Ministers had their quotes published in the newspaper. The frames presented following this paragraph can confirm the reproduction of a discourse that foresees an inevitable conflict between the West and Islam:

*"Mr Tony Blair has called on the world's democracies to come together and **fight to eradicate "the new evil" of mass terrorism.** "This is not a battle between the United States and terrorism, but between the free and **democratic world and terrorism**" ('Blair pledges to stand shoulder to shoulder with US', 12th September – The Irish Times).*

*"The Conservative leader, Mr William Hague, branded the attacks "**a monstrous act of war against the civilised world**" ('Blair pledges to stand shoulder to shoulder with US', 12th September – The Irish Times).*

*"Mr Chirac added that France "has always condemned terrorism without reservation, and considers that we must use all means at our disposal to **fight against terrorism**" ('Chirac, Schroder express solidarity', 12th September – The Irish Times).*

*"The German Chancellor, Mr Gerhard Schroder, called the attacks a "**declaration of war against the entire civilised world**" ('Chirac, Schroder express solidarity', 12th September – The Irish Times).*

*"The **danger of terrorism is a worldwide danger.** The world must organise itself to face it because terrorism can strike anywhere, over borders and the heads of the most powerful armies in the world," Mr Shimon Peres said" ('Israel goes on alert for possible attack as Palestinian factions deny involvement', 12th September – The Irish Times).*

*"Mr Bejamim Netanyahu warned that the terrorists' capacity for causing damage was advancing apace, that regimes supporting them were ever closer to biological and nuclear capabilities, and that "**they want to destroy our civilisation.**" ('Israel goes on alert for*

possible attack as Palestinian factions deny involvement`, 12th September – The Irish Times).

Folha de Sao Paulo, at the same day, displayed an Opinion article written by the philosopher Hélio Schwartzman, criticising the narrative of war introduced by George W. Bush and the use of negative words to impact the audience:

“‘Act of war’. That is how US President George W. Bush called the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington today, which left thousands of dead. Other expressions used were: ‘hunting and punishing’, ‘national tragedy’, ‘cowards without a face’, ‘attack on Western civilisation’, ‘beginning of the third millennium’, ‘Pearl Harbor of the new generation’. Like all phrases of effect, he describes only aspects of a sensationalist approach” (‘Slightly at war`, 12th September – Folha de Sao Paulo).

The study concluded that the constant repetition of the word ‘war’ and its variations combined to form the polarised discourse presented by powerful sources, allowing both newspapers to encode in the audience the idea of a global conflict. As a consequence, this might have created a collective feeling of insecurity.

- **Word: Threat**

Bauman argues that “most of the current dangers are unmanageable to public scrutiny and cannot be reliably confirmed or denied by the means available to people. They can be inserted or excluded into public beliefs. And in the battle of opinions, the most powerful are more likely to win” (Bauman, 2008: 189).

In accordance with Bauman’s argument that the dangers are unmanageable and that they can be inserted or excluded from public beliefs (Bauman, 2008:189), the research examined the use of the word ‘threat’ in the coverage of The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo, considering the number of articles where the word ‘threat’ was used and the context where it was applied.

According to the Cambridge dictionary, ‘threat’ is a suggestion that something unpleasant or violent will happen, especially if a particular action or order is not followed. During the data analyses of this thesis, the research found the word ‘threat’ was commonly used in

both newspapers articles to address terrorism. The word is also linked to other terms to form the expressions `terrorist threat` and `global threat`.

In comparison, the word 'threat' and its combinations were published in 730 articles in 2001, 230 in The Irish Times and 504 in the Folha de Sao Paulo, and 376 in 2015, 123 in the Irish publication and 253 in the Brazilian newspaper. The charts below present the figures found in the word 'threat' and its associations.

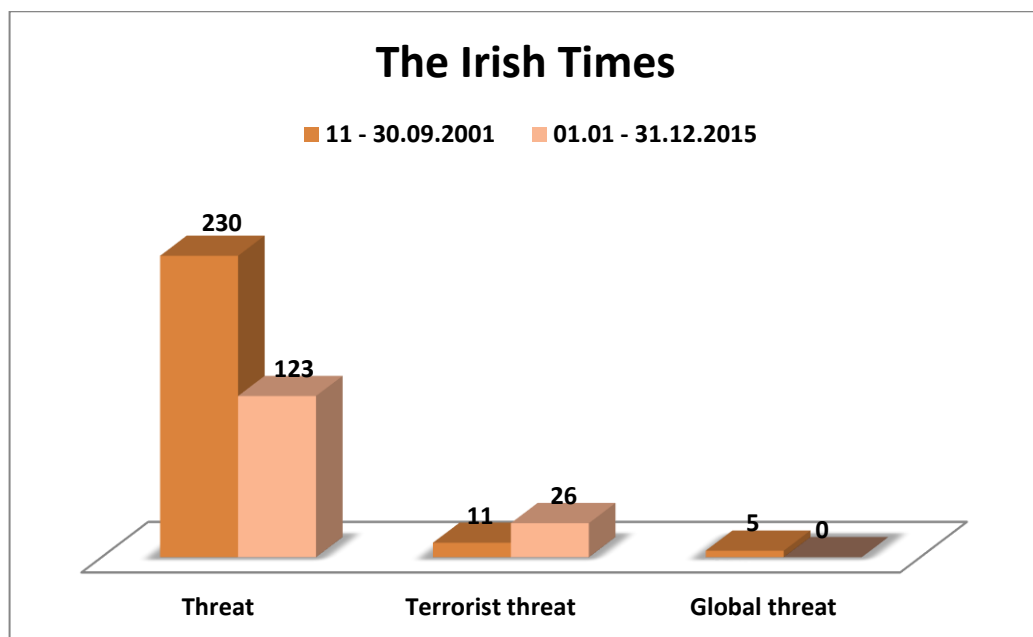


Chart 7. Comparison of the word Threat and its associations in the coverage of The Irish Times in 2001 and 2015.

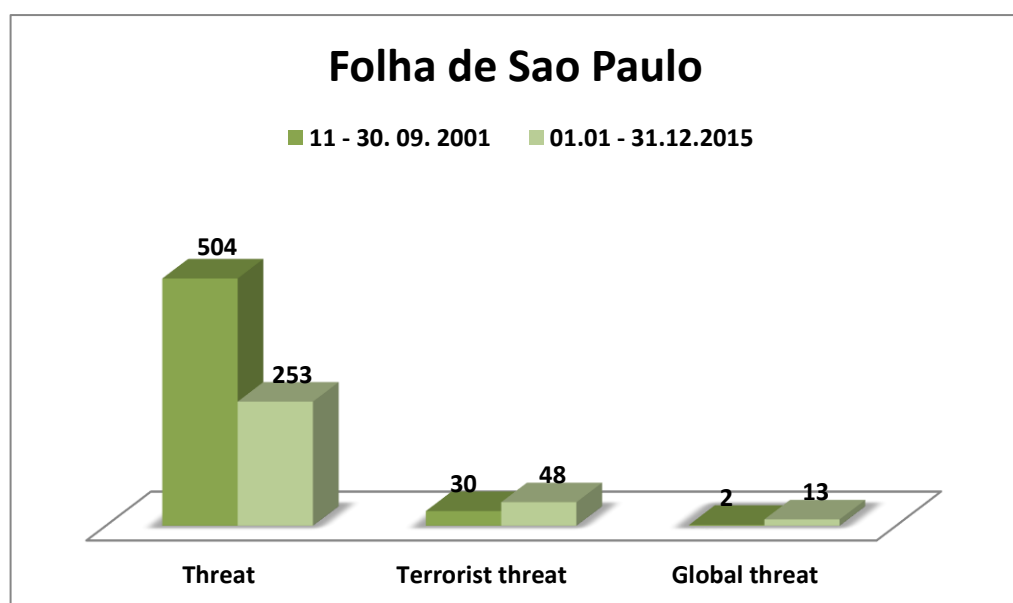


Chart 8. Comparison of the Threat and its associations in the coverage of Folha de Sao Paulo in 2001 and 2015

The analysis of the data showed that the general use of the term decreased between the periods analysed, however, the number of articles that combined `threat` with `terrorist` increased.

A detailed investigation has noticed this transformation from 2001 to 2015 coverage. As observed in the frames below:

- **2001**

*"If we believed that those horrifying events represented an attack on civilisation itself then we must also believe that any terrorist act made that very same **threat** even if it happened on our doorstep, said Feargal Quinn" (Tolerant attitude to terror raised by Quinn – The Irish Times, 19th September 2001).*

*"A continuous process of **threat** assessment is carried out by our services, and that will continue" (British Defence Secretary warns of the danger of biological attack – The Irish Times, 20th September 2001).*

*"Terrorism has sabotaged the gears of international connectivity, and the world of globalisation, where friction has been waning, is under **threat**" (Terror puts globalisation under threat – Folha de Sao Paulo, 30th September 2015).*

*"Uncertainty and consternation marked today the reactions of other European leaders. The attacks, especially the one that hit the Pentagon, the basis of the United States military intelligence, were taken as a serious **threat** to world peace" (World leaders urge US reaction - Folha de Sao Paulo, 11th September 2001).*

- **2015**

*"French president François Hollande, whose country was the target of terrorist attacks last November which killed 130, said the **global threat of terrorism** required a global response" (Cameron says Europe must stand together – The Irish Times, 26th November 2015).*

*"Terrorism struck Belgium, but it was Europe that was targeted, and everyone is concerned. We must be aware of the scope and seriousness of the **terrorist threat**" (Cameron says Europe must stand together – The Irish Times, 26th November 2015).*

*"President Barack direct appeals were aimed at circumventing Republicans who have been cranking up the rhetoric about Muslims, weak immigration laws and **terrorist threats** in a feverish presidential election campaign. (Obama resists shift in anti-terror strategy – The Irish Times 8th December 2015).*

*"Domestic extremists trained in Syria, Iraq and Yemen have become the major **terrorist threat** in the world" (Domestic extremist is the biggest threat - Folha de Sao Paulo, 11th January 2015).*

Despite the `intangible` definition, `threat` was applied in the coverage of terror attacks by The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo through official sources quotations to justify counterterrorism actions. The insertion of this term can contribute to creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and fear as suggested by Bauman in 'Liquid Fear' (2008).

"In a highly dramatic way, global terrorism has demonstrated the degree of insecurity we experience on a negatively globalized planet and the way in which the "moral gap" - responsible for deepening the contradictions between the remote nature of the effects of our actions and the short specter of the concerns that shape them-makes it difficult to conceive of any escape from the state of endemic uncertainty, insecurity, and fear it feeds (Bauman,2008: 133).

4.2.1 Economic background

The Irish Times published 231 articles in the Business section, 107 from 11th September to 30th September 2001 and 124 in 2015, as described in chart 1 in the beginning of this chapter. Folha de Sao Paulo reported 505 Business articles, 484 from 11th September to 30th September 2001 and 124 in 2015, as described in chart 2.

Surprisingly, the examination of Business articles, mainly in the 2001 events, have shown relevant data to connect the media with the collective fear.

The 11th September attacks reached one of the most important financial centres in the globe, the World Trade Centre. The reports published at that time followed a dramatic approach about the financial uncertainty and global crisis, as can be seen in the headline frames:

*"Terror closes US market and **knocks down European one**" (Folha de Sao Paulo, 12th September 2001)*

*"Terrorist attacks could tip the US into **recession**" (The Irish Times, 12th September 2001).*

*"Asian markets **plunged into chaos** by attacks" (The Irish Times, 14th September 2001).*

*"Ricupero sees the attack as a **threat to global economy**" (Folha de Sao Paulo, 15th September 2001).*

*"Emergency action avoids panic, but the **market still fears retaliation**" (Folha de Sao Paulo, 15th September 2001).*

*"US airlines to go **bankrupt** without \$ 24 billion injections" (Folha de Sao Paulo, 15th September 2001).*

*"Americans' **confidence** in the economy is the **lowest since 93**" (Folha de Sao Paulo, 28th September 2001).*

An investigation of words (counted by the number of times they were found in the articles) commonly used in both newspapers to describe the economic instability, also found terms that created a pattern which sustained the dramatic narrative, as illustrated in the chart below:

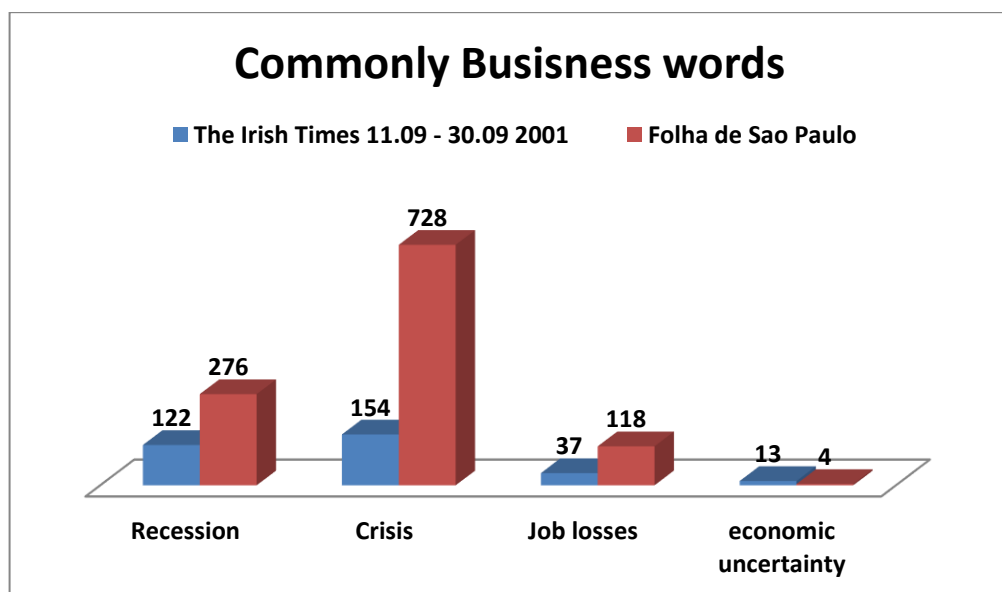


Chart 9. Comparison of Business commonly words used between The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo in the period from 11th September 2001 to 30th September 2001

4.3 Objective 2: to investigate if the mass media is providing balanced information and promoting a plural and unbiased debate.

To achieve this objective, the analysis divided the findings of the data into two categories: official sources narrative in the Opinion section and terrorism victims portrayed by the media vehicles.

4.3.1 Official narrative sources in the Opinion section

During the two periods analysed by the research, The Irish Times published 34 opinionative articles, 16 between 11th September 2001 to 30th September 2001 and 18 in 2015. Folha de Sao Paulo had published 201, 42 between 11th September 2001 to 30th September 2001 and 159 in 2015.

The discrepancy between the numbers of Folha de Sao Paulo's articles and The Irish Times' reports can be explained by the media of the publication. All The Irish Times' articles were published in the print version. Meanwhile, Folha de Sao Paulo had published around 60 % of those reports on the online version.

Both broadsheets published more articles written by internal sources (journalists, columnists and editors linked to the newspaper) than reports written by external sources (specialists, intellectuals), with the exception of The Irish Times in 2001, when the paper had the same number of internal and external sources, as can be seen in the charts below:

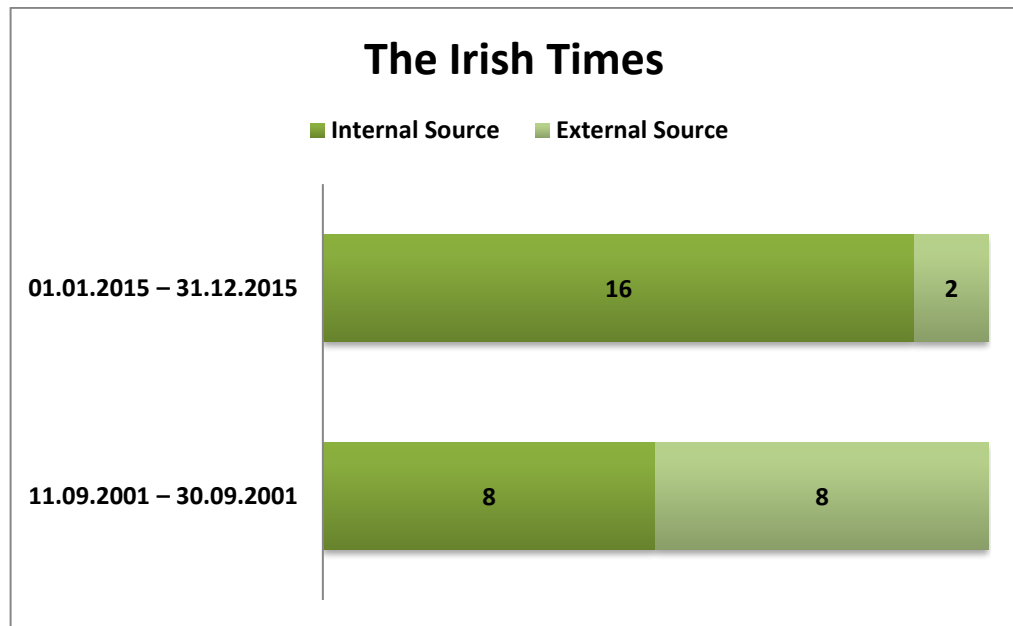


Chart 10. Comparison of Internal and External sources in the opinion section of *The Irish Times*

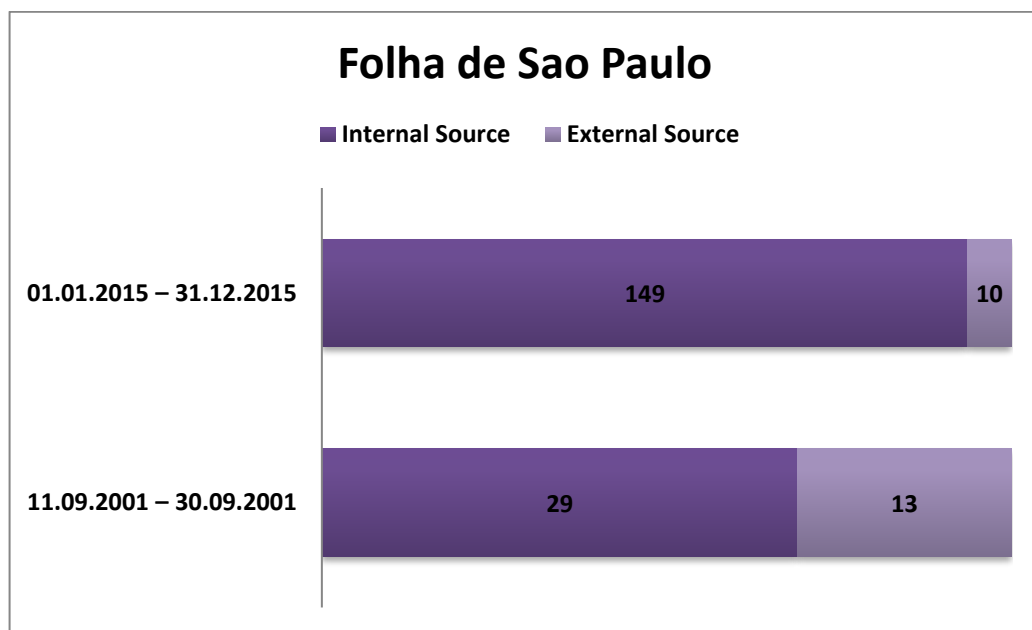


Chart 11. Comparison of Internal and External sources in the opinion section of *Folha de Sao Paulo*

Contrary to expectations, this study did not find a polarised discourse in the opinionative articles. Both internal and external sources could introduce their insights and defend their points of view through data and historical facts, in contrast to the articles published in the other sections, which tended to reproduce the Western narrative.

However, the plural debate encouraged in the Opinion section was not accessible to the entire audience. In a qualitative analysis, the research found in the articles – mainly in

2001 – that the excessive use of academic language and references might restrain understanding by part of the public.

As mentioned in the Literature Review, Ervand Abrahamian in his research “The US media, Huntington and September 11”, (Abrahamian, 2003) found a similar result in the analyses of the American press.

The investigation revealed an important fact about how the academic references were displayed in the texts. In the majority of the reports, mentions to authors, books and theories were not correctly referenced, or not didactically explained.

Commonly, both newspapers mentioned the “Clash of Civilisations” by Samuel Huntington and “The end of History” by Francis Fukuyama, with both books being quoted 12 and ten times respectively. The articles used the quotes without explaining what the theory is and without mentioning the authors.

As an example, Jonathan Eyal in the opinative article *‘Co-operation of other states is vital if US retaliation plans are to work’*, published on 15th September 2001 in The Irish Times, wrote:

“A major success for Washington would be if some Islamic nations join this effort as well; this would give the anti-terrorist operation a more global dimension, and avoid the accusation that all we are witnessing is the traditional confrontation between the US and Islam, a supposed “clash of civilisations”.”

The reference highlighted by Eyal can be easily misunderstood by part of the audience who, possibly, does not know Huntington theory.

The possible interference of the lack of accessibility to the information, caused by the excessive use of academic language and references, compromises the full result in order to achieve this objective. On the one hand, The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo provided for a plural debate in the Opinions sections, promoting balanced information. On the other hand, this balanced information is not available to the majority of the audience.

4.3.2 Portray of the victim

Edward Said argues that the Western coverage of the Islam, 'demonise and dehumanise a whole culture'. For Chomsky (2002), it happens to legitimate the 'quality of the treatment of worthy and unworthy victims', which might influence the audience to take part in one side of the story and ignore the human rights of the other, which is a way to dehumanise the potential threat.

The analysis of how The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo had portrayed the victims of the terrorist attacks in the two periods investigated by this research found an unbalanced coverage. The Western victims portrayed in both newspapers tended to be humanised, while the Eastern victims tended to be dehumanised.

Similarities to the coverages of the Charlie Hebdo and Paris attacks were evident by studying the coverage given to the 11th September attacks. The broadsheets published some stories about the victims of the Charlie Hebdo and Paris attacks (survivors and deceased) and profiled them. The report's content was, most of the time, comprised of a picture, a name, a profession and some curiosity that facilitated the audience's identification with the victim, as we can notice in the frames below:

*"Thousands feared dead in massive attacks in US Cork **mother and daughter** are named as first Irish fatalities" (The Irish Times, 12th September 2001).*

*"**Woman call to husband** twice from the kidnapped plane- **Barbara** said that all passengers and crew, including the pilot, were taken to the back of the aircraft by the kidnappers" (The Irish Times, 12th September 2001).*

*"Pitch meeting gave way to a bloodbath on "Charlie Hebdo" - **Stéphane Charbonnier** was **accommodated**, as she used to every Wednesday morning, **to a U-shaped wooden table** on the second floor of the well-lit newsroom of "Charlie Hebdo"... (Folha de Sao Paulo, 7th January 2015).*

*"In a few minutes, Paris night turns from perplexity to horror"- ... at a table on the sidewalk in front of Le Petit Cambodge restaurant, **a group of eight friends, including architects, students and psychoanalysts, finished eating and enjoying the "cheerful,***

relaxed, youthful" atmosphere of this Parisian area" (Folha de Sao Paulo, 15th November 2015).

"French who helped pregnant hung in the window of the Bataclan speaks for the 1st time" (Folha de Sao Paulo, 17th November 2015).

On the other hand, the reportage about the attacks in Africa or the Middle East hardly ever brought information about the victims, which are portrayed as numbers:

*"Attacks on the Sinai peninsula **kill more than 20 people**" – (Folha de Sao Paulo, 28th January 2015).*

*"Attack on Shia mosque leaves **19 dead** in northeastern Pakistan" - (Folha de Sao Paulo, 13th February 2015).*

*"Attacks in Nigeria **kill at least 45 people** in two days" - (Folha de Sao Paulo, 18th February 2015).*

One exception was found in The Irish Times. During the coverage of 11th September and at the eminence of an Afghanistan invasion, Miriam Donohoe, abroad correspondent in Peshawar, illustrated the situation of a refugee camp in the border of Pakistan in the article *'Death and despair as hospitals go on red alert'*:

*"Tiny Ziaur Rhama is wrapped in a **filthy towel** and lies on a torn rubber mattress in the chaotic, squalid hospital ward. Born only four days ago in an Afghan refugee camp, the only sign of life from the dying baby girl is the opening and closing of her dry mouth. **She looks like a hungry little bird waiting for food**" (The Irish Times, 25th September 2001).*

The evidence collected in the samples suggested both newspapers didn't provide balanced information about the victims of terrorism in the period studied in this thesis. Possible explanations for this might be that the lack of abroad correspondents in the countries where the attacks occurred, and the lack of coverage of events outside the West (Folha de Sao Paulo had published 55 more articles about attacks in Africa and the Middle East than The Irish Times).

4.4 Objective 3: to understand if the coverage style of the two publications has changed from the first event (11th September attacks) to the latest (Paris attacks).

The study identified that very little has changed in the coverage of The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo from the first event (the World Trade Center attacks on 11th September 2001) to the latest (the Paris attacks in November 2015).

Both newspapers adopted a similar editorial line, avoiding sensationalist terms to refer to terrorism or Islam. However, these terms can be published in the articles since they come as quotations from official sources such as the leader of the government.

The narrative of The Irish Times still focuses on the Western discourse, which is based mainly in European and North American coverage of the Western world.

Folha de Sao Paulo had diversified its coverage in the events of 2015, publishing more articles about terrorist attacks outside of the 'Western world'. Most of those reports were provided by several press agencies and abroad correspondents.

- **Sources (journalists)**

Most of the articles published by The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo in the occasion of the terrorist attacks analysed in this study were written by journalists and abroad correspondents linked to their newsroom. Both broadsheets also used information from press agencies to report on terrorism.

The Irish Times published 87 reports from press agencies, while Folha de Sao Paulo had published 195 in the same period. The table below displayed the number of articles divided by year.

Press Agencies			
	2001	2015	Total
The Irish Times	59	28	87
Folha de Sao Paulo	106	89	195

Table 8. Comparison of the use of press agencies in the coverage of terrorist attacks

The Irish Times

During the 11th September 2001 coverage, The Irish Times used articles provided by five different agencies as illustrated in the chart below:

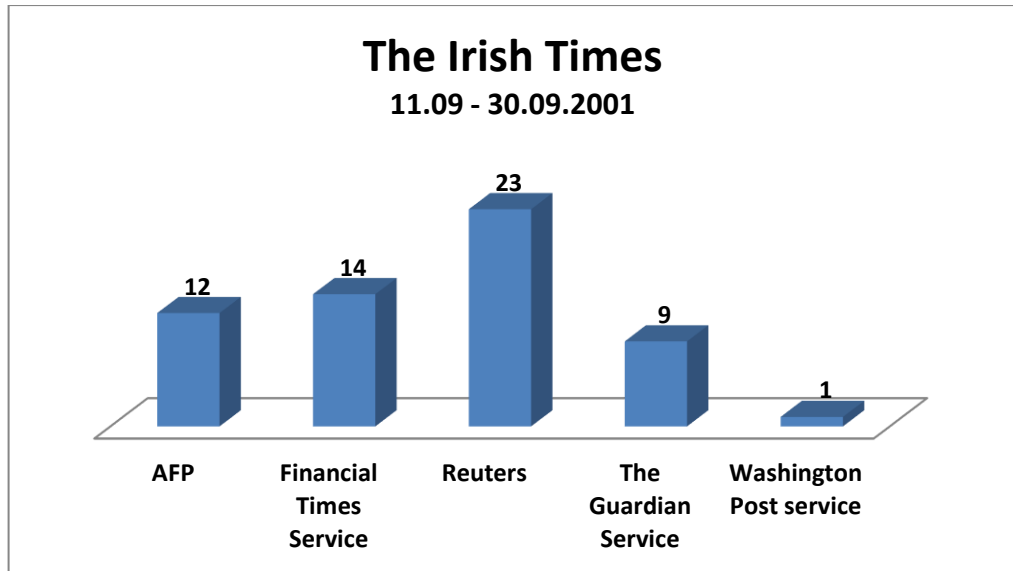


Chart 12. Press agencies used by The Irish Times from 11th September 2001 to 30th September 2001

In 2015, the newspaper reduced the number of agencies from five to four. The broadsheet didn't publish an article from the France Presse Agency and the Washington Post Service in 2011. Despite this, the New York Times Service was included in the coverage.

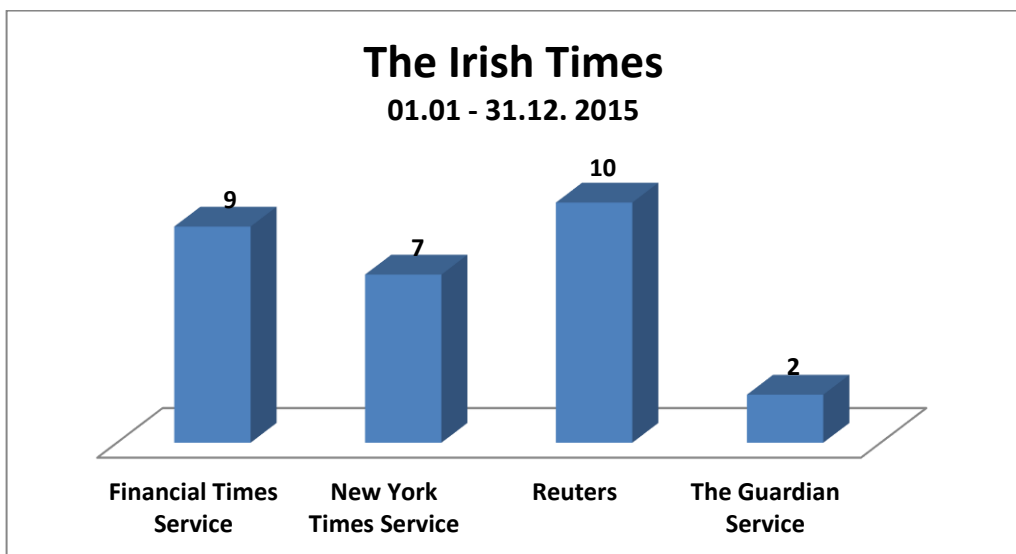


Chart 13. Press agencies used by The Irish Times from 01st January 2015 to 31st December 2015

Folha de Sao Paulo

The Brazilian newspaper used articles provided by 13 different press agencies during the coverage of the 11th September events.

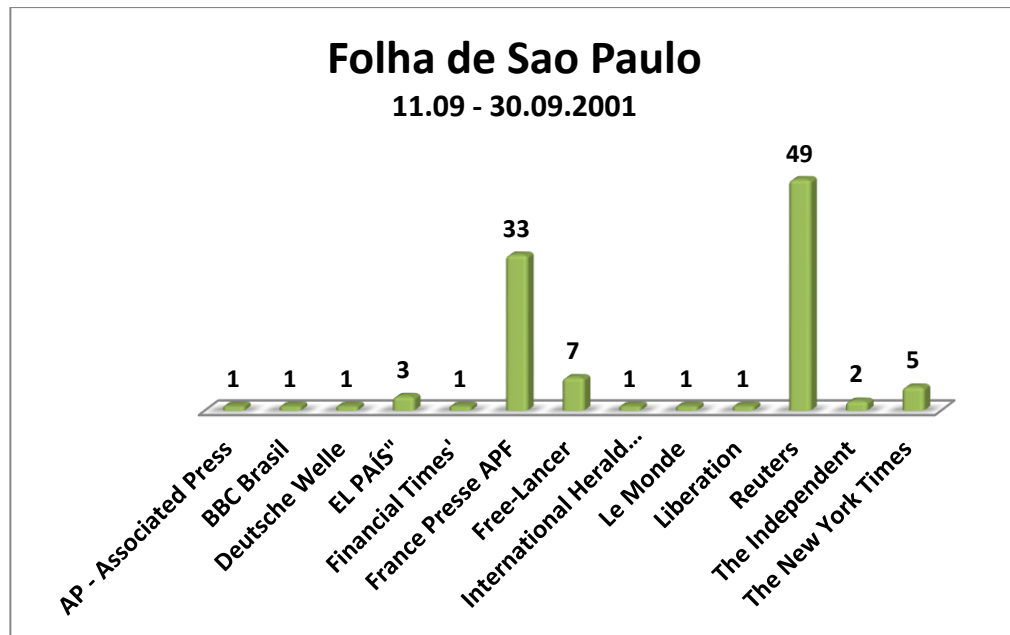


Chart 14. Press agencies used by Folha de Sao Paulo from 11th September 2001 to 30th September 2001

In 2015, the newspaper also reduced the number of external sources and included its press agency, Folha Press, who is responsible for more than 50% of the articles.

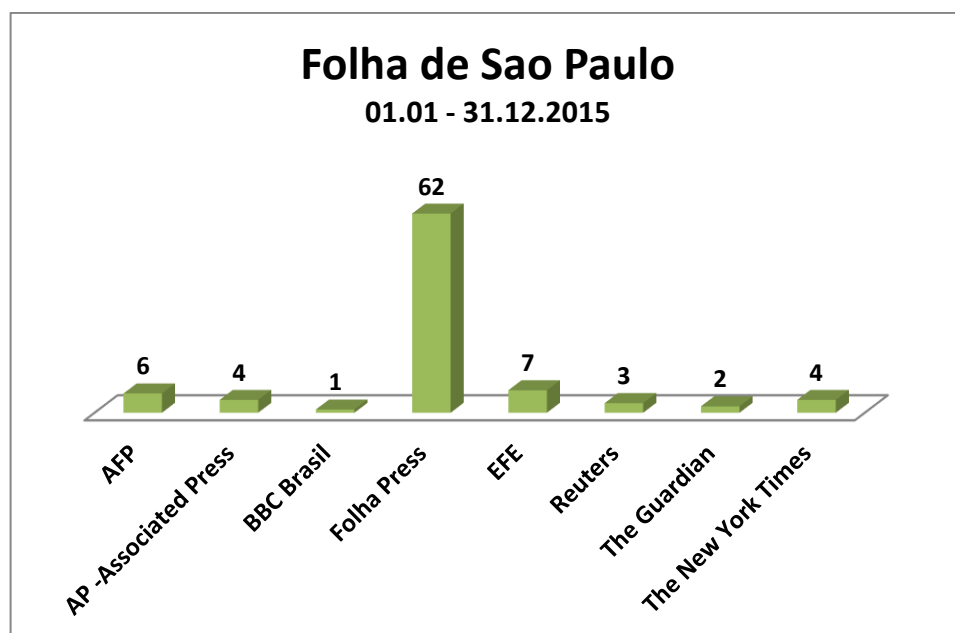


Chart 15. Press agencies used by Folha de Sao Paulo from 01st January 2015 to 31st December 2015

The study found that the use of a larger number of different sources by Folha de Sao Paulo generated a less patterned coverage than The Irish Times. The Brazilian newspaper had published 55 more articles about terrorism outside the West than the Irish broadsheet, what can collaborate to increasing plurality in the coverage of this type of event.

Chapter V – Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was finding if the mass media collaborated to the increasingly popular perception of Islamic Terrorism as a global threat, by stereotyping the Muslim community outside and inside the West. The research question of the investigation was: has mass media contributed to creating an atmosphere of collective fear addressing Islamic terrorism?

To answer this question, the study analysed 3.857 articles - 838 from The Irish Times, Ireland, and 3.019 from Folha de Sao Paulo, Brazil – in a period from 11th September to 30th September 2001, and from 01st January 2015 to 31st January 2015.

5.2 Summary key findings

The construction of the Islamic terrorist stereotype through mass media is a combination of the lack of representation of the Islamic communities in the Western press and the mix of words and expressions that connect Islam to a global threat.

The investigation showed that none of the papers analysed used pejorative terms when addressing the Islamic culture to audiences. However, since the coverage of the 11th September 2001 terrorist attacks until the end of 2015, the association of the word 'Islamic' with the word 'terrorist' has increased in both media channels investigated by the research. One of the reasons identified by the study for this rise is the polarised narrative presented by the newspapers, which is a narrative based on declarations from Western official sources.

Mainly formed by members of European and North American countries, such sources also collaborated with increasing the notion of an unsafe society by addressing terrorism as a global threat.

Contrary to expectations, the analysis showed that there is a space in the two broadsheets (in the Opinion sections of each vehicle) which encourages balanced and pluralist points of views. However, the plural debate was not accessible to the entire

audience. The excessive use of academic language and references in this section might restrain understanding by part of the public.

The research also showed an unbalance in the portrayal of victims of terrorism. This portrayal tended to humanise the Western victims and dehumanise the Eastern ones.

Despite the period of 14 years between the first event analysed (11th September 2001) and the latest (the Paris attacks of November 2015), the investigation identified that very little changed in the coverage of The Irish Times and Folha de Sao Paulo. Both newspapers adopted a similar editorial line and narrative to represent Islam. As an exception, the study found that from 2001 to 2015, a larger number of articles reported on terrorist attacks outside the West in Folha de Sao Paulo, what can indicate an effort from the vehicle to pluralise the coverage of terrorism events.

5.3 Limitations of the study

The major limitation of this study was the collection of data. Most of the physical archives in the libraries of the city offer print editions dated from a length of only six months, what makes it impossible to collect data from 2001. The digital platforms, such as Lexis Nexis, also don't provide a rich variety of publications on their systems. To achieve the aim of this study, the researcher had to become a member of the two publications to have access to their digital archives.

These platforms also don't classify the articles by online and printed versions. This was the reason why the study did not evaluate the differences between the online and print versions.

Another limitation of this investigation was the lack of literature about Islam in the Irish Media; a fact also pointed out by James Carr, one of the specialists of this field in Ireland.

5.4 Recommendations for future research

A natural progression of this work is to analyse the coverage of the terrorist events in an Eastern publication. An investigation of the reportage of Al Jazeera in the same period used for this study can add relevant data to understand the process behind the humanisation and dehumanisation of the victims of terrorist attacks.

Having a point of view from an 'Islamic world' publication might be the key to understand the construction of the stereotype of the Islamic terrorism by the Western media.

5.5 Conclusion

"... We cannot approach the terrorism of the weak against the powerful without confronting equally the unspeakable but much more extreme terrorism of the powerful against the weak" (Power and Terror, Noam Chomsky).

According to the Oxford dictionary, terrorism is 'the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims'. The origin of the term is related to the late 18th century, in reference to the rule of the Jacobin faction during the French Revolution, a period known as the Terror. However, the term has been currently related to religious (most specifically Islamic) aims.

Mass media has played a central role in spreading this misleading idea about Islamism and terrorism, many times in partial and biased reports without any historical background of the issue, reinforcing the inaccurate connection between terror and religion.

The results of this research suggested that the newspapers analysed had displayed a representation of terrorism as an Islamic issue. Therefore, their attitude might have collaborated to increase the perception of Islam as a global threat.

This lack of representation of the Islamic communities in the news and the polarised Western narrative about terrorism reproduced by official sources in the mass media only reinforces the stereotype of an uncivilised and violent Islam, which contributes to increasing intolerance and xenophobia worldwide.

An alternative press, engaged in promoting balanced information by providing a plural debate might be the only solution to revert to the current situation of the partial and biased mass media.

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Appendices

The Irish Times

September 17, 2001

Newspapers freeze the day the world stood still.

Television, radio and newspapers have been consumed by the attack on America.

Michael Foley examines the media coverage

SECTION: CITY EDITION; NEWS FEATURES; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 830 words

Terrorism is a phenomenon of a media age: it depends on publicity to have an impact. The attacks in New York and Washington can be viewed as the first major act of terror in the new media age.

The sight of two aircraft hitting the World Trade Centre towers was transmitted around the world by 24-hour news channels, the Internet, wap phones, emails and mobile phones. The sight of the second aircraft hitting the southern tower was shown live. Within minutes, news websites had the information. There were unconfirmed reports of people in the World Trade Centre text messaging loved ones or sending emails.

There was something eerily familiar about the scene, which was straight from Hollywood. It was *Towering Inferno* and *Die Hard*.

One can assume those who planned the attacks were brought up on the same Hollywood images as the rest of us. Both the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon are iconic images that have appeared in hundreds of movies. Both buildings, as images, represent the US's global power, whether military, commercial or financial. New York is also the centre of the media world, which was why there were so many journalists able to give accounts as seen from their offices.

"Surreal" was the word chosen by many on the radio and television to describe what they had observed. More often than not, they were not describing the scene itself, but the scene as transmitted by television.

It is in the nature of television to transmit the more dramatic footage to hand and the sight of the aircraft crashing into the World Trade Centre is probably the most dramatic piece of actuality ever.

The footage of the aircraft heading towards the building, and disappearing for a moment before smoke and flames exploded from the side of the tower, was shown time and time again. It was shown in slow motion, it was frozen or enhanced; it formed a backdrop for news anchors and discussions.

Other images were also repeated - the towers collapsing, the video footage of the aircraft taken from below the towers. Certain individuals leaving the scene, covered in dust and blood, became increasingly familiar to the millions who watched hours of coverage hoping to learn something new.

One recalled the first war of our media age, the Gulf War, ironically during the presidency of President Bush's father, when missiles exploded as they hit buildings in what looked like computer games where no one died. Scenes of devastation in New York and Washington shown as if on a continuous loop added a feeling of obscenity to the images.

No one knew who was responsible or why it had occurred. To use the classic structure of a news story, we knew the "What, Where and When" but not the "Who, Why and How", so journalists speculated.

RADIO, on the other hand, needs no images, and so could tell the human stories. Ordinary people had space to add their comments. Those who got through to radio programmes were restrained.

In online chat rooms, there were calls to "turn Afghanistan into one big crater".

It was probably too soon for calmer voices put events in the US into context. An American contributor described journalist Robert Fisk as naive on Pat Kenny's programme when he spoke about the Palestinian people and Middle East politics. RTE's Mark Little, reporting from Israel and Gaza said on radio on Tuesday that scenes of jubilation in Gaza were exaggerated and did not reflect the reality. He was ignored. The news that followed his comments reported the scenes of jubilation.

So where did this leave newspapers? In the US many newspapers brought out special editions on Tuesday afternoon, most using the entire front page to show the twin towers frozen as the aircraft hit.

On Friday, newspapers around the world had to cover a story that most people knew in incredible detail.

Despite this the Sun splashed the scene of the World Trade Centre imploding, using the headline, "The Day That Changed the World", and devoted 29 pages to the coverage. Other tabloids gave similar blanket coverage.

As one would expect, broadsheet newspapers gave massive coverage to the events.

But it is worth asking why people turned to newspapers after hours of radio and television. Increased print runs and special editions are not about breaking news. One media commentator, Monica Moses of the Poynter Institute for Media Studies in Florida, said on the institute's website: "Print freezes a moment in time; it attaches a few well-chosen words to it; it defines it, informationally and emotionally. It is an organised, finite, community response. In that sense, a newspaper may be more art than information, more essay than report. Television does the play-by-play; newspapers step back and sum it up."

In other words, the newspaper gives order to a world that looks chaotic on television or as breaking news on your mobile phone.

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LOAD-DATE: September 17, 200

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Example: Table of data collection

The Irish Times	Article	Journalist	Section
12.09.2001	Thousands feared dead in massive attacks in US Cork mother and daughter are named as first Irish fatalities	By PATRICK SMYTH, IN WASHINGTON and CONOR O'CLERY, IN NEW YORK	CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; WORLD IN SHOCK AS BUSH VOWS TERROR WILL NOT DEFEAT FREEDOM; Pg. 1
	Osama bin Laden is top suspect Osama bin Laden is the number one suspect ... until he is found to be innocent, reports Michael Jansen		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA - THE SUSPECT; Pg. 8
	Chronology		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 8
	Terrorism that gives a glimpse of horrors to come Yesterday's attacks on the US have revealed a new and unpredictable type		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA - ANALYSIS; Pg. 10

	of conflict, writes Paddy Smyth		
	Washington plunged into chaos as Pentagon targeted	By KEN FIREMAN, (LA Times/Washington Post service)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Chirac, Schröder express solidarity	By LARA MARLOWE, IN PARIS, and DEREK SCALLY, IN BERLIN	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	Israel goes on alert for possible attack as Palestinian factions deny involvement	By DAVID HOROVITZ, (Additional reporting AFP)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	Delayed Chinese response condemns attack on US	By MIRIAM DONOHOE	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	Blair pledges to stand shoulder to shoulder with US	By FRANK MILLAR, London Editor	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA - WORLD REACTION; Pg. 12
	Palestine offers support to US after attack Mr Yasser Arafat has offered his help to the US, reports Daglan de Bragança		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA - REACTION IN GAZA CITY; Pg. 12
	Events could encourage		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON

	<p>unilateralist trend</p> <p>The potential political and strategic consequences of yesterday's at-tacks on the United States's international role are profound, writes Paul Gillespie</p>		AMERICA; Pg. 14
	<p>Washington failed to react to renewed warning of terrorist threat</p>	By MARTIN KETTLE, (Guardian Service)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 14
	<p>Terrorists slash their way into the heart of the American Dream</p> <p>This is a new world indeed, but it is not a brave new world</p>	Fintan O'Toole	CITY EDITION; OPINION; Pg. 18
	Attack On America		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; EDITORIAL COMMENT; Pg. 19
	<p>Terrorist attacks could tip US into recession</p> <p>Repercussions for the global economy are likely to be significant and the timing could hardly have been worse</p>	Jane Suiter, Economics Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 20
	Markets plummet in wake of New York catastrophe	By BRENDAN MCGRATH, Markets Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 20
	Economics takes back seat to human suffering	By MARY CANNIFFE	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 20
	Dollar falls 2% against euro as it suffers fall-out of terrorist attacks	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 20
	IBEC offers condolences		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 20

	<p>Hammer-blow to the heart of New York's financial district</p> <p>A lot of decent human beings lost their lives yesterday because they went to work, writes Sheila O'Flanagan</p>	Sheila O'Flanagan	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 21
	Insurers braced for billions in claims	(Reuters, Financial Times Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 21
	<p>Heavy selling of insurers on fears of billions in claims</p> <p>Frankfurt DAX: 4,273.53 (-396.6); Paris CAC: 4,059.75 (-324.0)</p>	(Financial Times Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - EUROPE; Pg. 22
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	Global community backs US in 'act of war' aftermath	By PATRICK SMYTH IN WASHINGTON and CONOR O'CLERY IN NEW YORK	CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; HOPE FADES IN THE DUST AND RUBBLE; Pg. 1
	Cancellation of ploughing competition blow to Laois		CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; MIDLANDS REPORT; Pg. 2
	Flood tribunal adjourns for day		CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 4
	Relatives query fate of over 1,000 loved ones	By CAROLINE O'DOHERTY	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 6
	Sligo labourer (35) is feared dead	By ED POWER, MARY MINIHAN and JOE HUMPHRIES	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 6

	US determined to conquer its terrorist enemies Secretary of State Colin Powell is seeking to build a coalition with other democratic states	Patrick Smyth	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	NATO poised to invoke 'shared defence'	By DENIS STAUNTON	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Little sympathy for US government expressed on streets of Beijing	By MIRIAM DONOHOE	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	How the American press reacted	(Guardian Service)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	FBI seek men who took flight lessons Mobile phone calls from frightened passengers and at least one flight attendant on the four targeted aircraft described a similar pattern in the unfolding of each hijacking incident,	reports Elaine Lafferty, in New York	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA - HOW IT HAPPENED; Pg. 11
	FBI in biggest investigation of its history	By JULIAN BORGER, (Guardian news service)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 11
	Palestinian leaders reject attack support Gaza and the West Bank were subdued in the aftermath,	writes Deaglan de Braden, in Jerusalem	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	All Middle East governments, except Iraq, denounce atrocity in US	By MICHAEL JANSEN	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12

	Church and State will be represented at services across the country to remember victims		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	10 Palestinians and Israeli woman killed in day of violence	(AFP)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 13
	Result of Tory leadership vote today	(AFP)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 13
	Chance for peace must not be lost	By MARY HOLLAND	CITY EDITION; OPINION; OPINION AND ANALYSIS; Pg. 16
	Horror must not infect world with fanaticism Let no decent human being forget that the vast majority of Arabs and of other Muslims are neither accomplices to the crime nor rejoicing in it	writes Amos Oz	CITY EDITION; OPINION; OPINION AND ANALYSIS; Pg. 16
	Britain's expressions of support for US might extend to security debate Britain has been forthright in supporting the US. Apart from siding with good against evil, Jonathan Eyal suggests Tony Blair has a longer term objective as well		CITY EDITION; OPINION; OPINION AND ANALYSIS; Pg. 16
	Terror Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 17
	Terror Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 17

	Interest rates may head lower to control downturn	By JANE SUITER, Economics Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 18
	Central banks pour \$ 80bn into global financial system to head off re-cession Central banks adopt crisis management measures in pump-priming global liquidity in an effort to ward off long-term recession, writes Jane Suiter, Economics Editor		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 18
	NYSE closed until tomorrow, at least	By BRENDAN MCGRATH, Markets Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 18
	Asian markets plunged into chaos by attacks But scare is unfounded, says Hong Kong expert	By MIRIAM DONOHOE, Asia Correspondent	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 18
	Corporate America loses brightest stars	By JANE BLACK	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Insurance to pay for only one tower	By MARY CANNIFFE, (Additional reporting by the Guardian Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Bord Failte forecasts big losses in already ailing tourism industry	By UNA MCCAFFREY	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Small businesses not happy to pay for day of mourning		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Exports could be 'seriously' affected		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	IMF meeting set to be postponed	(Financial Times Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19

	ECB building Frankfurt shelter	(AFP)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Ernst & Young delays awards		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Footsie proves resilient and closes on a positive note FTSE 250: 5,521.2 (- 78.2); FTSE SmallCap: 2,402.90 (-73.1)	(Financial Times Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - LONDON; Pg. 20
	Gloom engulfs stocks as higher fuel price fears bite Frankfurt DAX: 4,335.2 (+61.67); Paris CAC: 4,114.26 (+54.51)	(Financial Times Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - EUROPE; Pg. 20
	CIE likely to settle (pounds) 11m signalling claim today Project by French contractor ended after (pounds) 36 million overspend	By ARTHUR BEESLEY	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 21
	Woods in talks as event is cancelled		CITY EDITION; SPORT; Pg. 22
	Winter Games to go ahead		CITY EDITION; SPORT; Pg. 22
	UEFA acts by cancelling all games this week		CITY EDITION; SPORT; Pg. 22
	FAI aim to sort out St Patrick's saga quickly		CITY EDITION; SPORT; SOCCER/DIGEST; Pg. 23
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	Bush will end conflict 'at way and hour of our choosing' Rescue workers cheer president on visit to World Trade Centre in New York		CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1

	The UK	By FRANK MILLAR and RACHEL DONNELLY	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 2
	Europe	By DENIS STAUNTON, (Additional reporting: Reuters)	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 2
	Belfast	By ED POWER and MONIKA UNSWORTH	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 2
	US attacks denounced in Dublin mosque as victims remembered	By MARY MINIHAN	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 3
	Father of Omagh victim empathises with Americans	By PAUL TANNEY	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 4
	Carpenter's family hopes for miracle	By MARY MINIHAN	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 4
	Delayed may get away at weekend	By ARTHUR QUINLAN	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 5
	IRA move on decommissioning expected	By JIM CUSACK, Security Editor	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 6
	Duncan Smith makes his debut in Commons as Tory leader	By FRANK MILLAR, London Editor	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 7
	Arafat is 'local bin Laden' as US attacks reverberate in West Bank	By DAVID HOROVITZ	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 7
	Disaster may bring US closer to rest of world	By GARRET FITZGERALD	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA/OPINION & ANALYSIS; Pg. 8
	Suffering must not give way to vengeance	By BREDA O'BRIEN	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA/OPINION & ANALYSIS; Pg. 8

	Terrorist Attacks In The United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTER TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 09
	Doubts over US economy weaken the dollar	By JANE O'SULLIVAN, (Additional reporting by Reuters)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 11
	Share prices tumble throughout Europe	By MARY CANNIFFE	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 11
	Investors in for a bumpy ride as markets return to normal trading International political uncertainty following the atrocity in New York will keep global stock markets on a knife edge over the coming days and weeks, writes Mary Canniffe, Investment Editor		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 11
	Homage paid by North's business	By FRANCES MCDONNELL, Northern Ireland Business Correspondent	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 11
	US hijacking rumours put paid to FTSE's two-day rally FTSE 250: 5,457 (-99.6); FTSE SmallCap: 2,374.0 (-20.1)	(Financial Times Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - LONDON; Pg. 12
	Stock exchange observes National Day of Mourning	By MARY CANNIFFE	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - DUBLIN; Pg. 12
	Hakkinen decides to take indefinite break from F1	By JUSTIN HYNES	CITY EDITION; SPORT; Pg. 14
	Woods opts out of Paris event		CITY EDITION; SPORT; Pg. 14

	Mersey sound of silence in tribute Michael Walker talks to Everton's US-born Joe-Max Moore in the aftermath of Tuesday's terrorist attack in America	Guardian Service	CITY EDITION; SPORT; SOCCER/INTERVIEW WITH EVERTON'S AMERICAN STRIKER JOE -MAX MOORE; Pg. 15
	Hope. Disbelief. Fear. Life. History. Terrorist Attack on America (all channels)	By SHANE HEGARTY	CITY EDITION; WEEKEND; TV REVIEW; Pg. 65
	Broadcast News	By MAIRE KEARNEY	CITY EDITION; WEEKEND; Pg. 65
	US mourns with a muted call to arms in services across nation	By ARSHAD MOHAMMED, (Reuters)	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 80
	Biggest mobilisation since Gulf	By PATRICK SMYTH, Washington Correspondent	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 81
	Oklahoma to revise wording		CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 81
	Tensions high as investors leave Pakistan	By MIRIAM DONOHOE	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 81
	Israel says it repelled recent attack	By DAVID HOROVITZ	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 81
	UK provides security, intelligence resources Whatever the US response, it will not be limited this time to one-off strikes by cruise missiles, writes Richard Norton-Taylor	(Guardian Service)	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 81

	<p>Americans shocked at lapses in security and intelligence</p> <p>Air traffic controllers who had to look at TV to discover planes were hijacked; the failure of US intelligence to know what was afoot; dismal airport security.</p> <p>Elaine Lafferty reports on a catalogue of errors</p>		CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 82
	<p>Recession in United States now seems certain</p> <p>The dreadful events of this week and the continuing uncertainty over the US response have dealt a devastating blow to global economic prospects,</p>	writes Jane Suiter, Economics Editor	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; ECONOMIC FALLOUT; Pg. 82
	<p>Belief that Allah is with him spurs bin Laden on</p> <p>Osama bin Laden is the prime suspect.</p>	Miriam Donohoe in Islamabad examines the terrorist in Mr Bush's sights	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; THE PRIME SUSPECT; Pg. 85
	<p>Symbolism of the act' is central</p> <p>Figures involved in the conflict in Northern Ireland understood the intent behind the act of terror against the US and what is needed to carry it out,</p>	writes Jim Cusack	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 87

	From holy warriors to holy war If Osama bin Laden and his disciples were responsible for the attacks against the US, they have made a giant leap in their capabilities	Michael Jansen	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; TERRORISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY; Pg. 87
	Co-operation of other states is vital if US retaliation plans are to work It is not clear if the Americans understand that in return for enjoying the support of Western countries, Washington would also have to consult them before launching a military operation	Jonathan Eyal	CITY EDITION; ATTAK ON AMERICA; Pg. 88
	Religious roots of fanaticism To a religiously motivated suicide bomber, it is the act of ultimate sacrifice rather than the loss of many innocent lives that really counts	Ed Kessler examines the roots of fanaticism	CITY EDITION; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 86
		Dr Edward Kessler is director of the Centre for Jewish-Christian Relations in Cambridge, England	
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	New York becomes Irish parish in calamity	By SEAN KILFEATHER	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; PAPER ROUND; Pg. 2

	<p>Number of Irish dead expected to rise</p> <p>Although the number of Irish people who died in the attacks on the World Trade Centre last week is still unknown, many still remain to be accounted for</p>	Mary Minihan and Joe Humphreys	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 6
	<p>Spiritual leader of Taliban summons his clerics</p>	By SAYED SALAHUDDIN, (Reuters)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 6
	<p>Passengers surprised at low security in NY airport</p>	By SUE CARTER and MARY MINIHAN	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 7
	<p>ETA's terror campaign against media threatens freedom of expression</p> <p>The impact of terrorism and intimidation on the media was the theme of a recent conference in Bilbao.</p>	Paddy Woodworth reports	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 7
	<p>Pakistan and the world hold their breath</p> <p>The crisis is highlighting fault lines in Pakistan</p>	Miriam Donohoe analyses the balance its military regime must strike... if it is to hold the country together and survive	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA - THE DILEMMA FOR PAKISTAN'S MILITARY GOVERNMENT; Pg. 8
	<p>Ahern declares that support for US response is not unconditional</p> <p>The Taoiseach has made it clear that Ireland, like its EU partners, has not written a blank cheque of support for the US response to last week's</p>	Mark Brennock, Political Correspondent, reports	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10

	terrorist attacks.		
	Mallon predicts renewed pressure for decommissioning by IRA	By CLARE MURPHY	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Blair says Britain is 'at war with terrorism' and will back US campaign	By FRANK MILLAR, London Editor	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Taoiseach calls for a measured international response that stays within UN treaty terms	By ALISON O'CONNOR, Political Reporter	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	New focus on Israeli approach to suicide bombs in wake of US attacks Israel's approach to terrorism and suicide bombings is attracting re-newed attention from an international community which now faces a similar dilemma,	writes Deaglan de Bradan	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 11
	Leading airline in US to lay off 12,000 employees	By JOHN MCMANUS	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	Sharon manoeuvres over peace talks	By DAVID HOROVITZ, (AFP)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 13
	29 killed in Tamil Tiger suicide attacks on ferry	(AFP)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 13
	Web moves up a gear in wake of US attacks		CITY EDITION; COMPUTIMES; Pg. 14

	<p>Bush must now appeal to 'global civilisation'</p> <p>The world wept with America but already, writes Anne Applebaum in London, one can hear the dissenting voices saying the US is partly to blame. President Bush needs to concentrate as much on retaining the hearts and minds of ordinary people around the world as upon building a political and military coalition to back coming US retaliation</p>	Anne Applebaum	CITY EDITION; NEWS FEATURES; Pg. 18
	<p>Newspapers freeze the day the world stood still</p> <p>Television, radio and newspapers have been consumed by the attack on America.</p>	Michael Foley examines the media coverage	CITY EDITION; NEWS FEATURES; Pg. 18
	The Northern Dimension		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; EDITORIAL COMMENT; Pg. 19
	Terror Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 19
	All eyes on reopening of US markets	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; THIS WEEK; Pg. 21
	Ryder Cup decision met with sadness and understanding	By PHILIP REID	CITY EDITION; SPORT; Pg. 50
	Woods relieved in present climate		CITY EDITION; SPORT; GOLF/Ryder CUP POSTPONEMENT; Pg. 51
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	Share values plummet on Wall St Black day for investors as fears of recession cause record loss on Dow Jones industrial average	By CONOR O'CLERY, INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS EDITOR, IN NEW YORK, and	CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1
	Fears growing of US attack on Afghans	By MIRIAM DONOHOE	CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1
	Visionary who worked for a peaceful Ireland He redefined the problem, prescribed the solution and more than any-one else, brought it closer during a gruelling three decades in Northern Ireland politics.	Mark Brennock, Political Correspondent, details John Hume's extraordinary role in Irish history	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; JOHN HUME'S RESIGNATION; Pg. 5
	Reid asking for parties to back the Police Board	By ALISON O'CONNOR, Political Reporter	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 6
	Sensitivities abound in creating an alliance Few countries are willing to offer the US unconditional support in its war on terrorism,	writes Patrick Smyth	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 8
	FBI will fly on all US jets in future	(AP)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 8
	Cowen indicates State could back military action	By EDWARD POWER	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 8
	EU leaders to hold emergency meeting European governments are struggling to maintain a united response	Denis Staunton	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10

	US invites Israel to join coalition	By DAVID HOROVITZ	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	G8 to hold crisis talks in the wake of attack on US financial centre	By PADDY AGNEW	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Arabs give support - on condition	By MICHAEL JANSEN	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Rebels say US to blame for attacks	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Former senator warns of further attacks	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Fleeing Afghans stranded at border At Torkham, on the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, Taliban supporters jeered and jostled journalists yesterday as Taliban soldiers pointed guns across the frontier.	Miriam Donohoe	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 11
	Taliban officials flee Kabul amid rumours of war	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 11
	Oireachtas to condemn terror attacks on US	By MARK HENNESSY, Political Reporter	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	Security tops the agenda at aviation conference	By CARMEL LINNANE	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	Irish Muslims urge US not to act in haste	By PAUL CULLEN	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	9 die in Islamic suicide attack	(AFP)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 13
	Terrorist Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 17

	Terrorist Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 17
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	Terrorist Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 17
	US, EU reduce interest rates to boost confidence	By JANE SUITER, Economics Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 18
	Bourses weather early storm but more volatility lies ahead	By MARY CANNIFFE, Investment Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Departments told to tighten their belts	By JANE SUITER, Economics Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Analyst says techs may have to issue warnings	By JAMIE SMYTH	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Aer Lingus is likely to ground almost half its transatlantic fleet	By JOHN MCMANUS, PADRAIG YEATES and CARMEL LINNANE	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Vinci may withdraw from E825m bid for TBI	(Financial Times Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 19
	Dow suffers its largest loss ever after four-session halt Dow Jones Industrial Average: 8,921.18 (-678.52)	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - NEW YORK; Pg. 20
	Administrators must follow the rules	By EMMET MALONE	CITY EDITION; SPORT; NATIONAL LEAGUE; Pg. 23

	Yankee dollar will be missed on the links Philip Reid looks at the short and medium-term cost to Irish tourism of the terrorist attacks in the United States	Philip Reid	CITY EDITION; SPORT; RYDER CUP FALLOUT/THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND FINANCIAL COSTS; Pg. 24
	Officials face new set of headaches	By PHILIP REID	CITY EDITION; SPORT; RYDER CUP FALLOUT/THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND FINANCIAL COSTS; Pg. 24
	Champion denies race rumours		CITY EDITION; SPORT; MOTOR SPORT/FORMULA ONE; Pg. 27
	Concerns for welfare of US students	By YVONNE HEALY	CITY EDITION; EDUCATION AND LIVING; Pg. 50
	Crisis forces Aer Lingus cuts 1,600 jobs at risk as airline retreats from key Atlantic routes	By JOHN MCMANUS and PADRAIG YEATES	CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1
	Leaders to review efforts on North	By MARK HENNESSY, Political Reporter	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 5
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	Special session expresses sympathy and solidarity with US over at-tacks	By FRANK MCNALLY	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; DAIL REPORT/ATTACK ON AMERICA - DAIL SKETCH; Pg. 8
	Bruton criticises Clinton attitude to Sinn Fein	By MARK HENNESSY, Political Reporter	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; DAIL REPORT/ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 9
	Tolerant attitude to terror raised by Quinn	By JIMMY WALSH	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; DAIL REPORT/ATTACK ON AMERICA - SENATE REPORT; Pg. 9

	<p>Party leaders unanimously condemn terrorist attacks</p> <p>The Dail had a rare consensus over the attacks on the US</p>	Mark Brennock, Political Correspondent	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; DAIL REPORT/ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 9
	<p>New York's uphill struggle to get back to business</p> <p>It is a week since the devastating attacks on the World Trade Centre but the citizens of New York are still on edge,</p>	Elaine Lafferty	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA - CITY FEARS ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN; Pg. 10
	<p>British Defence Secretary warns of danger of biological attack</p> <p>Blair prepares to meet Bush amid expectation of a strong UK commitment to an American initiative</p>	Frank Millar	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA - BRITISH SUPPORT; Pg. 10
	Border states consider stance on US attacks		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	UN to postpone General Assembly?		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 12
	Ceasefire in Middle East brings best hope for peace	By DAVID HOROVITZ	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 13
important	<p>World agreement on terrorism should be sought by Americans</p> <p>The US should convene a world conference to get backing for a strategy to combat terrorism before it starts bombing</p>	John Bruton is a Fine Gael TD for Meath and a former Taoiseach	CITY EDITION; OPINION AND ANALYSIS; Pg. 16

important	West against Islam is not right response There is potential to muster a broad base of support for military action against those responsible,	Willie O'Dea	CITY EDITION; OPINION AND ANALYSIS; Pg. 16
		Willie O'Dea is a Fianna Fáil TD for Limerick East and Minister of State at the Department of Education	
	Consensus in the Dail		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; EDITORIAL COMMENT; Pg. 18
	Terrorist Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 17
	Ryanair confident of achieving earnings target	By JOHN MCMANUS, (Additional reporting by Reuters)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; CRISIS AT AER LINGUS; Pg. 18
	US airlines to go bankrupt without \$ 24 billion injection	By CONOR O'CLERY, International Business Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; CRISIS AT AER LINGUS; Pg. 19
	EU dismisses talk of resuming State aid to troubled national carriers	By JOHN MCMANUS and DENIS STAUNTON	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; CRISIS AT AER LINGUS; Pg. 19
	US stock slide deepens on sense of gloom	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 21
	Wall St united by grief as rivals share facilities	By SIOBHAN CREATON, Finance Correspondent	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 21
	Bank of England cut likely to herald further falls in interest rates	By JANE SUITER, Economics Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 21
	World matchplay field in doubt		CITY EDITION; SPORT; GOLF/NEWS ROUND-UP; Pg. 22
	Kelly best of the Irish in European Tour school torment		CITY EDITION; SPORT; SPORT/DIGEST; Pg. 25
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	IRA move on arms likely Statement eases fears on NI future	By MARK BRENNOCK, JIM CUSACK, FRANK MILLAR and ALISON O'CONNOR	CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1
	US adds to pressure on IRA for move on arms issue	By FRANK MILLAR, London Editor	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 6
	Atrocities prompt new IRA stance Analysis: The latest IRA statement comes with strong indications it may be about to go beyond re-engagement with the decommissioning body	Jim Cusack, Security Editor	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 6
	EU proposes new anti-terrorist package Commission outlines measures to be considered by justice ministers today	reports Denis Staunton	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Guns fall silent for the moment	By DAVID HOROVITZ	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 11
	Beware mimicking the actions of the fanatic Instead of reacting blindly to the agenda of terrorists, a considered re-sponse conforming to moral principles is what justice demands	Michael D. Higgins	CITY EDITION; OPINION AND ANALYSIS; Pg. 14
	Terrorist Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 15
	OECD members missed standstill in last quarter	By JANE SUITER, Economics Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 17

	London's main indices slide for second consecutive day FTSE 250: 5,177.7 (-85.3); FTSE SmallCap: 2,261.1 (-43.6)	Financial Times Service	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - LONDON; Pg. 18
	Bedevelled airline stocks find solace as value returns DAX: 4,041.80 (-153.05); CAC: 3,888.93 (-82.25)	Financial Times Service	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - EUROPE; Pg. 18
	Ad sector fears slowdown may spiral into recession	By BERNICE HARRISON	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ADVERTISING/MARKETING; Pg. 19
	Watch for cuts in fixed rates Cuts in rates to stabilise markets are good news for borrowers says	Jane Suiter, Economics Editor	CITY EDITION; PROPERTY; MORTGAGES; Pg. 62
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	ICTU calls for 'emergency' strategy	By PADRAIG YEATES, Industry and Employment Correspondent	CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 4
	Ceasefire hangs in balance after two shot dead	By DAVID HOROVITZ	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 9
	Two arrested over car bomb attack	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; Pg. 9
	US may be divided over best course of action	By PATRICK SMYTH, Washington Correspondent	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	US forces deployed for war		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Poll shows 70% of Britons favour strikes against terrorist havens	By FRANK MILLAR, London Editor	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Discovery of Irishman's body comforts family	By MARY MINIHAN	CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10

	Groups to campaign against a retaliation		CITY EDITION; WORLD NEWS; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 10
	Thirst quenching Canada high It had so many movies that even the most enthusiastic fan could see only a fraction of the programme but the 26th Toronto International Film Festival also had quality	By MICHAEL DWYER	CITY EDITION; ARTS; Pg. 12
	Ground control Recent events are driving home the risks of air travel. But it's still one of the safest methods of transport. Air traffic controllers at Shannon tell Elaine Edwards how they deal with the stresses of the job, which last week involved coping with the massive flight changes following the attacks on the US	Elaine Edwards	CITY EDITION; FEATURES; Pg. 13
	IRA's position dramatically changed by terrorism in the US The IRA and 'Real IRA' have, like many terrorist groups across the world, been running for shelter since last week's suicide attacks in Washington and New York,	Jim Cusack	CITY EDITION; OPINION AND ANALYSIS; Pg. 15

	Drawbacks to potential US-Russia alliance The chill in relations between the United States and Russia seems to be over, as US delegations arrive in Moscow to discuss co-operation against terrorism, but there are still problems to be overcome in any potential alliance,	Jonathan Eyal	CITY EDITION; OPINION AND ANALYSIS; Pg. 14
	Ta An La Tagtha		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; EDITORIAL COMMENT; Pg. 16
	Terrorist Attacks In United States		CITY EDITION; EDITORIAL PAGE; LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. 15
	Price hits birdie trail to charge into lead		CITY EDITION; SPORT; GOLF/NEWS ROUND-UP; Pg. 19
	Europe's airlines fight insurance battle to avoid grounding threat	By DENIS STAUNTON IN BRUSSELS and PADRAIG YEATES, (Additional reporting, Financial Times Service)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 50
	Bord Failte urges State subsidies		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 50
	American Airlines to decide on jobs		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS THIS WEEK 1; Pg. 50
	European stocks decline to 4-year low on recession fears	By BRENDAN MCGRATH	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKETS; Pg. 51
	TBI accepts Vinci bid	(Reuters)	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; AIRPORTS; Pg. 51
	Insurance firms threaten to withdraw war-risk cover	By DENIS STAUNTON	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; EUROPEAN AIRLINES; Pg. 52

	Fall off in business at Shannon Airport causes concern for economy of region The airport had hummed in the immediate aftermath of the US attacks but a fall-off in demand has since become clear	By EIBHIR MULQUEEN	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 52
	Bush administration proposes \$ 8bn emergency aid plan for US airlines	AFP	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 52
	Defiant New Yorkers go back to work but the dead and missing will never be forgotten Many in New York are happy just to be alive and to have jobs to return to. A lot of friends have been lost but there remains an unbelievable spirit in a city in which people are making a point of returning to work	Siobh n Creaton, Finance Correspondent	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ATTACK ON AMERICA; Pg. 53
	Terrorism will put the brakes on Irish growth A fall-off in exports to the US, a slowdown in inward investment from American firms and a decline in US tourists travelling abroad will add to Republic's slump	By OLIVER MANGAN	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; ECONOMICS; Pg. 54
	Footsie falls 3.5% as the sell-off gathers momentum FTSE 250: 4,994.4 (-183.3); FTSE SmallCap: 2,162.0 (-104.1)	Financial Times Service	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; MARKET REPORT - LONDON; Pg. 56

Important	Economics is put into perspective Although the human tragedy following events in the US takes precedent, the corporate world will also be hugely affected	By SHEILA O' FLANAGAN	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; VIEW FROM THE GROUND FLOOR; Pg. 57
	Video-conference sector beats odds	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; THE MARGIN; Pg. 57	
	Privacy vital to democracy	By KARLIN LILLINGTON	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; NET RESULTS; Pg. 59
	US attacks will affect online privacy	By DENIS KELLEHER	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; COMMUNICATIONS; Pg. 60
		Denis Kelleher is a practising Barrister and co-author of Information Technology Law in Ireland (Butterworths: Dublin). Website: http://www.ictlaw.com	
	Proposed monitoring of e-communications criticised	By JAMIE SMYTH	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; CIVIL RIGHTS; Pg. 60
	Risk takers may find good buys	By MARY CANNIFFE, Investment Editor	CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; INVESTMENT WEEK; Pg. 61
	Prospects for Republic's economy deteriorated in wake of US attack Events of last week could be viewed as merely hastening a global re-cession but recovery will occur sooner due to the aggressive response from central banks		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; AFTERMATH; Pg. 62
	Travelling in wake of US attacks		CITY EDITION; BUSINESS & FINANCE; Pg. 64

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	Reid suspends NI institutions once more	By GERRY MORIARTY, JIM CUSACK, DENIS STAUNTON and FRANK MILLAR	CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1
	Ahern allows US forces to use Irish airports Taoiseach says Bush does not need UN mandate	By DENIS STAUNTON IN BRUSSELS and MIRIAM DONOHOE INPESHAWAR	CITY EDITION; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1
	Presbyterian Notes		CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 2
	American fund concert on RTE		CITY EDITION; HOME NEWS; Pg. 4